

CATALONIA FOR CHRIST

THEY were erecting a new door-way to a building—not an unusual sight, yet my attention was arrested by one of the workmen. He seemed to be enjoying his work! Idly I watch this good Catalan with his corduroy trousers, his curious canvas sandals, worn commonly in this region, his handsome sun-scorched face, his fine physique, as he sat on a scaffolding plank at his task, when suddenly his enjoyment becomes vocal. Swinging his legs to the rhythm he breaks into a song. And the song was known to me, at least in words, since school-boy days—

Salve, Virgo, Salve,
Alleluia, Alleluia.

And he smears the blue-grey mortar, as he sings, over the sunshine-coloured bricks.

But the tune? That too seems strangely familiar. Where had I heard that tune before? Suddenly I recall it to mind. The scene is now transferred to a big Academic Hall in the College of the Jesuits on the outskirts of Barcelona. The Hall is crammed to its utmost capacity—at a rough estimate with five hundred men. The platform is occupied by clerics and laymen, and in the centre of all sits a slight black-robed figure, watching intently, with a smile on his face, the crowd beneath the dais. It is the General of the Society of Jesus, and the meeting is a popular demonstration, on behalf of these men, to testify their gratitude for having been able to make the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius and to express in public an appreciation of their worth in solving the moral and social evils of the City of Barcelona and the Province of Catalonia.

A man is speaking: a big, large-shouldered man, using pump-handle gestures, it is true, but none the less effective!

"Yes—I have been an anarchist. I confess it here in public. I have known how to use a revolver. But I have been converted. I know now the worthlessness of material things; I don't want your money, I don't want to get rich—I want to propagate the knowledge of Christ crucified . . . and I appeal to the Capitalists to do their duty and learn from Christ their responsibilities to God's poor. . . ."

A storm of applause drowns his voice. He waits, blinking his eyes at the audience, wipes his mouth on his sleeve and continues. . . . He is followed by a second speaker, a calm, dignified well-dressed lawyer. As a result of men making the *Spiritual Exercises* in his parish, Daily Communion has increased by 60 per cent ; the birth-rate by 30 per cent. Figures are sometimes eloquent . . . University students, mechanics, chauffeurs, bakers, tinkers, bricklayers, all classes and conditions of men were present on that occasion, and not a few of them spoke in the same tenor as the speech quoted above.

And then came the outburst of song—their song—the song of that wonderful Retreat organization which I am about to describe. " Practise the lessons taught and given to us by His Holiness Leo XIII.—the Pope of the Workmen. Be to each other as Brothers, he says. Respect one another's rights. Be without envy, without suspicion, take pity on the aged and the destitute. . . ." That is the English prose translation—imagine it set to the Catalan language, put to a ringing air and sung by five hundred men at that motley assembly. And then—

Salve, Virgo, Salve,

sung by those same five hundred, and, no doubt, this brick-layer lad among them.

In far less time than it takes to tell, I recalled all this, and I began speaking to the lad :

" You've made the *Spiritual Exercises* ? "

" Si, señor."

" With Father Vallet ? "

" Si."

" I thought so, by the tune you were singing. . . ."

He grinned and hopped off his perch.

" I'll sing you another."

And he *did* sing it—to the arch-browed astonishment of a passer-by.

I have used this tiny incident to introduce this paper dealing with the work of the *Spiritual Exercises* in the Province of Catalonia. But I should like, in the first place, to put the particular question of these modern Retreats in Spain into its proper perspective by asking this general question—why and in what precise manner have the *Exercises* become so important to our generation ?

We cannot do better than revive the memory of what the late Father Plater wrote on this subject, particularly in his

"Retreats for Workers," a paper read at the Catholic Congress at Brighton in 1906. He opens by remarking on the changes passing over Europe; everywhere the democratic spirit is gaining strength; everywhere it has resulted in making the working man inaccessible to Christian influences.

The workman is thrown back upon himself, and lives his life apart. He is simply out of touch with all save his own class. He finds himself, in the great industrial centres, thrown together with enormous numbers of those precisely in a position similar to his own . . . hence it is that the clergy and the educated laity have been called upon with such insistence to go to the people—implying that the conditions of modern society make it difficult, and even impossible, for the people to go to them.

I may at once add that the above can be applied word for word to the social conditions now existing in Barcelona and its environs. True it is that Spain is essentially Catholic, and, moreover, has an agricultural population. Yet the great mass of the industrial population are out of touch with the clergy, and Father Vallet has told the present writer that many men nominally Catholic come to him doubting the most elementary Christian Truths.

A background to life—some common bond uniting, despite the discordance of competitive struggle—some worthy object of enthusiasm or devotion behind the aimless passage of the years—some spiritual force or ideal elevated over the shabby sense of temporary failure—this is the imperative need of the masses in our great cities to-day.¹

Well, the *Spiritual Exercises* made in the manner described below supply the two needs emphasized in these two quotations.

First: "The clergy and the educated laity must go to the people." But how? To speak to them from some platform? Visit them under the ægis of some settlement? Patronize them with financial aid? No doubt all these methods have accomplished something in the past, but on the whole they have tended to emphasize class consciousness and class distinctions. Then "Retreats for working men" you will suggest? No. Not altogether. This label again but serves to perpetuate unnecessary and artificial divisions. Who is the "working man"? A man in overalls and rolled-up sleeves, but *not* the

¹ C. F. Masterman, in *The Heart of the Empire* (1901).

stiff-collared bank clerk? Previous to the advent of Father Vallet in Barcelona, many Retreats had been advertised as "Retreats for workmen." Very few workmen had come. Why? Because they were suspicious; retreat houses founded by the "capitalist class" merely to anæsthetize them with soft religious stuff . . . thus they argued. Father Vallet has changed the wording; no longer "Retreats for working men," but "the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola for ALL."

And with amazing results. "The educated laity must go to the people." Under Father Vallet's system, they not only go but live together with them, sharing the same conditions of comfort and food. This has been the present writer's privilege to serve at table at many of these Retreat gatherings. Truly an amazing experience! Tram-car drivers, chauffeurs, University men, lawyers, bank clerks, leisured men of wealth—all gathered together under the same roof and leading for a time the same kind of life.

"Some worthy object of enthusiasm or devotion behind the aimless passage of the years"—this was the "imperative need" outlined by Mr. Masterman. And the *Spiritual Exercises*, rightly interpreted, supply this need. There is some danger of wrong or inadequate interpretation which misses the *thought* of St. Ignatius. The aim of the *Exercises* is not merely the conversion of sinners, or, in general, the correcting of faults and failings in our lives. To use the current phraseology, the *Exercises* are not merely psychotherapeutic; we should not enter into a Retreat just with the bare idea of *receptiveness* to God's callings. This is something, but not all that is required. There is question of Christian Perfection, involving costly sacrifices and the full appreciation of the highest Gospel ideals. Now, we would venture to state that just in the proportion as we preach the highest Gospel lessons, just in that proportion do we succeed in giving men "some worthy object of enthusiasm or devotion behind the aimless passage of the years." What else can that be—rather, Who else can be a worthy object of our enthusiasm and devotion but the Person of Our Lord Jesus Christ? Any Retreat which fails to put in the clearest possible light the Christian's main privilege of the possibility of incorporation with Christ—in the manner that St. Paul taught it to converts raw from Paganism—is surely failing in its main object. We would venture again to state that Father Vallet's amazing success in Catalonia is due first and foremost to the fact that,

in the five days of the *Exercises* which he gives to his men (they keep complete silence, by the way. This he regards as essential) he follows this thought of St. Ignatius through meditation and meditation. "It is no longer I who give the Exercises, but St. Ignatius through me," is one of his favourite dictums.

The better to set forth the ideals and methods of this particular Retreat movement, let us consider it under the following heads—Recruitment, Nature of Retreat, Characteristic Features, Means of Perseverance. First, Recruitment: how are the exercitants got together? I think most people accustomed to the usual methods of advertising a mission or some such apostolic venture here at home, would be astounded at the vigorous propaganda carried out in Catalonia. Barcelona is a typical modern seaport, with a busy harbour, factories, tubes, bright shop-fronts and flashing night advertisements. Its chief square is a replica of Piccadilly Circus. Well, in the midst of this chaos of worldliness, here is the sort of religious poster that might easily meet your eye:—

NOT ON BREAD ALONE DOTH MAN LIVE.

(Words of Jesus Christ.)

MEN IN BUSINESS!

This is the truth which throws light on the darkness of our days. Are you aware of it?

MERCHANTS!

Your business is not everything—not even the better part of your life. Have you thought about this?

WORKMEN!

A life of mere labour for the sake of labour would be sheer debasement. Don't you feel within you higher and more urgent aspirations?

RICH PROPRIETORS!

Have you ever felt the happiness which results from giving to others?

POOR MEN—POOR AND RESPECTED!

Here is a true relief as welcome as your daily bread. Do not laugh in bitterness of heart. No. Do not laugh. So far you have known only the consolation of empty words. Try now the real consolation.

BEHOLD!

The Apostle and his brethren march past you, preaching and teaching the doctrine of Jesus.

The whole land of Catalonia, its mountains, valleys and plains vibrate with the sound of this doctrine of love.

Yes. It is Father Francis Vallet and his brave company, and they carry with them the greatest wonder of our days—

THE EXERCISES.

Now, you may think this somewhat theatrical, rather Spanish and dramatic. Nevertheless, it is an effective means to a good end. Merchants advertise their goods by every service of human ingenuity; Father Vallet, a merchant in more important goods, adopts their methods. And why not? Advertisement is not necessarily vulgar. It is a means of getting facts known, and it is never so justified as when it is true. It is the exaggerated and misleading advertisement of commerce that tends to degrade a practice which in itself is only reasonable.

Employing, then, methods such as these, the Fathers select a district, comprising, perhaps, a dozen or so parishes, for an intensive campaign, enlist the ready co-operation of the parish priests, and, by the distribution of leaflets of all colours and sizes, posters, articles and announcements in all the leading daily papers, make the *Exercises* known, at least in theory, to many. The parish priests form small committees of men who have already made the *Exercises* and together they set about "beating-up" their respective districts. There is no question of compulsion; when they realize what they are, men *ask* for the *Exercises*—they feel their need of them.¹ Follow public meetings—anywhere and everywhere. In a square, in a cinema, a dance-hall, a café, or the local assembly hall of some political clique. Father Vallet once addressed a packed house in the largest theatre in Barcelona. Challenged to speak in the open, he promptly stood on a table in the busiest of the public squares . . . And so the priests and the laymen's committee gather their exercitants—say, to the number of fifty. Then follows the first Retreat in that particular locality. If there is an established Retreat House in the near vicinity, well and good. If not, well, here comes the unique feature in this Retreat movement. It is officially known as a "campaign

¹ "The one thing is, that both clergy and laity should feel *convinced* of the value of a retreat. The retreat-house must not need to *call* for men to come to it; the various groups must so value a retreat that they are rivals for precedence! Once a parish has got accustomed to retreats, the men will entrust their organization to 'promoters' from among themselves." C. C. Martindale, S.J., in *The Messenger*, July, 1924.

of the Spiritual Exercises," and it possesses all the paraphernalia of a military route-march. Two travelling kitchens, capable of providing for 125 men, vans containing some 80 beds, together with bed clothes, crockery, glasses, knives and forks, etc. Such are the resources at the command of the Fathers. And thus they are able to turn any empty dwelling or hall into a temporary Retreat House. Father Vallet has, in fact, used schools, hospitals, factories, even an abandoned convent! (I do not think he has quite rivalled Father Martindale, who once gave a Retreat to colliers partly in a church, partly in the priest's dining-room, partly in a dance hall . . . But he works along these lines, knowing that if you are determined to have a retreat you can always find a place for it and women-folk to help in the matter of food.)

So much for the procuring of exercitants. Now, as to the kind of retreat, Father Vallet and his colleagues give just the *Exercises*—with strict silence and real meditation. The five days are not spent in passivity: the mind and the will are constantly employed, stimulated at intervals by the instructions of the Director and by devotional reading. The main substance of the retreat is devoted to what is technically known as the "First Week"; the Purpose of Creation; Sin; the Reality of Hell and the Means of Escaping it; the Meaning of Redemption, the Person of the Crucified . . . It is a robust and virile spiritual diet that is thus administered in the "First Week," bringing the creature to a sense of all that is involved in creaturehood—the active and direct praise, reverence and service of God seen as the *finis primarius* of creation . . .

Several features peculiar to these retreats may now be mentioned. First, "the Banquet of the Prodigal," which takes place after the general confession on the fourth day. The room is decorated—and the meal is a banquet! Speeches are made, wine drunk, cigars smoked, cakes cut . . . These men had, perhaps, come despondent, unsettled, unhappy. Why? Because life had had for them no clear goal; there had been no "worthy object of enthusiasm or devotion behind the aimless passage of the years"; but now these four days of intensive effort had succeeded in clarifying their minds, strengthening their wills—and they had *realized*, perhaps for the first time, Jesus Christ. It is on the occasion of this banquet, that each man receives the little souvenir card which, I think, is so unique. On the front a picture of St. Ignatius in the cave at Manresa; inside, the printed names, parishes and professions

of all who attended that particular retreat; on the back, a few maxims from the *Exercises* and the Baptismal vows. The ceremonies surrounding the renewal of these latter form another characteristic of these Spanish retreats. On the morning of the sixth day, the men march in procession from the retreat-house to the parish church behind a huge Crucifix. The present writer once walked in one of these processions when the Crucifix was life-size, with long "real" hair on the head and gorgeous raiment glittering in the sun; enormous wax candles were borne; hymns sung, then and in the church, packed with men. After a multitude of Communions came the public recital of the Baptismal vows. Never shall we forget the scene . . . "Take unto thee the faith of the heavenly precepts, and in thy way of life be such that thou mayest forthwith be God's Temple." There was no mistaking the earnestness of the response. These men had become children again in their sheer joy at the possession of the Faith, whose vitality had, perhaps, remained buried for many a long year beneath the dust of a false materialism.

But faith revived can die again. No experience in the spiritual life is commoner than the cooling of fervour. What is done to maintain the fruits of the *Exercises* by these experienced guides of souls? The necessity of some sort of organized co-operation to secure perseverance in good has long been recognized.¹ Father Vallet considers that the unit of all such organization must be the parish, where each one has had all his spiritual experiences, and which should come first in his spiritual affections. All this region of Catalonia, accordingly, is mapped out in the following way both for "recruiting" and for maintaining the effects of the retreats. First, some prominent town is chosen as the "Capital for a campaign." From there, as headquarters, all the surrounding country is evangelized.

Secondly, a Parish from which more than a dozen men have made the *Exercises* can form its "League of Perseverance." If it especially distinguishes itself in apostolic work, it receives the League Flag.

Thirdly, Parishes which fall short of that number of exercitants can become Delegations or sub-Delegations as the case may be, and are affiliated through elected representatives to the nearest Parish that has a League.

¹ Cf. *Retraites Fermées, Pratique et Théorie*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1920. Also No. 21 of Fr. Watrigant's *Collection de la Bibliothèque des Exercices*. For Holland, Fr. Charles Sudbrack, *passim*. For Italy, *Resoconto dei Retiri Operari*, Rome, 1912, etc.

There is a Central Committee, with a kind of "Club-house" in Barcelona. Each Parish League is governed by its Parish Priest and committee of laymen. There is as much inter-Parochial communication as is possible. An efficacious bond of union is an excellent monthly periodical devoted to the work of the *Exercises* entitled "Perseverance."

It is no ordinary parochial work which we describe: no mere devotional practice for the edification of the masses: it is the elevating into a spiritualized organization of the shapeless, hopeless, toiling mass of humanity; it is the transformation, under seemingly desperate conditions and in an incredibly short space of time, of thousands of indifferent, disaffected or even irreligious workmen into veritable apostles—centres of light and strength to their fellows.

These words of Father Plater, written twenty years ago, might describe the effects of the Catalonian retreat movement. And naturally enough, the creation in each Parish of a body of keen and zealous men of this kind, ready to rally round their Pastor on any occasion, and to kindle into new life already existing organizations, meets the approval of the Supreme Authority. The Holy Father, two years ago, asked a group of cardinals what they thought was the most needed human institution now-a-days in the Church—and he answered his own question: "A group of really instructed laymen in each parish."¹

And so it has actually come about that in about 500 Parishes from nine Dioceses, groups of men have sprung up inspired with the enthusiasm which the Faith properly grasped supplies, and the *people* have rallied round their Priests!

An all-round improvement in the spiritual life of the parish has been the natural result; Sodalties and Vincent de Paul Conferences are re-invigorated; the observance of Sunday has improved, blasphemy has been checked, and frequent reunions keep the idea of Perseverance alive. We hear, too, of Father Vallet's further schemes for establishing study clubs on the lines of our own C.S.G.

Of more general interest yet tending to maintain connection in the *Exercises* are the mass pilgrimages to Monserrat, organized

¹ There is no need to insist on the sanction given to the work of Retreats by the "Apostolic Constitution," constituting St. Ignatius Patron of all such Retreats, published in 1922. And the Father-General of the Society of Jesus blessed the work in a speech to the gathering described above, and in a subsequent letter published in *Perseverance*.

by Father Vallet on March 25th of each year. It was to this Catalonian shrine of Our Lady that Ignatius came, on the eve of the Annunciation—March 24th, 1522—to make his ever memorable vigil and dedicate his life to God. Spanish devotion to this shrine, high up amongst those saw-toothed mountain crags, has flourished unabated to this day. Thither, then, these men of Father Vallet assemble to hold their Retreat mass meetings, with a midnight mass on the night of the 25th. The numbers attending call for much organization: decorated trains, and then charabancs convey the marshalled multitudes, and all goes smoothly, thanks to the energy of Father Vallet, who knows so well how to combine the "business" with the "dream."¹

I would conclude with a few statistics to justify the title I have given to this paper. This work has now been in progress for four years. During the years 1923 and 1924, 2,697 men made these five-day Retreats. In the year 1925, 2,586 men. In the year 1926, 3,064 men. The total for four years is 8,341 men. Now, considering that for the greater part of the time, only two Priests have been at the work, this, on examination, will be shown to be an immense achievement. On an average it works out at about 40 men a week—week in and week out without interruption for four years. Last year's monthly average was 268. Taken in conjunction with all the organizations outlined above, the work bears all the signs of permanency; the secular clergy are enthusiastic in its support; Religious Orders have rivalled each other in assisting. Father Vallet's methods have been studied and put into operation elsewhere by not a few. Moreover, he has had men in his *Exercises* who have really corresponded to St. Ignatius' idea of the formation of *leaders*; eminent and wealthy men on the one hand, and real converts from red-hot anarchy on the other. There is no doubt that Barcelona, once in the days of Ferrer a focus of anti-Christian propaganda, is a changed city; in part this is due to the strength of the new political régime, but those who know will tell you that a really appreciable transformation in the life of the people has been brought about by the practice of Retreats.

Here then is a matter for "social reformers" to ponder over. It is time that they realized that the complex social problem—

¹ I have omitted in this paper all mention of the financial side of the Spanish Retreat movement: not because it is unimportant. It is not always easy to persuade employers to free their men for a whole week. The help of the devout sex has also to be invoked and directed, and, of course, there is a mass of literature to distribute.

the relationship of capital to labour—is not a mere external readjustment of burdens and profits, still less, of State ownership. There is need of a higher ideal than material prosperity if men are to work in harmony. The higher ideal alone can effectually oppose the natural selfishness of the individual, and it is by recognizing our true position in God's scheme of things that we get sight of that ideal. Rights we have and must maintain, but we have duties too, the chief of which is to love and serve God and for His sake our neighbour made in His likeness. To realize these Truths we need to think, and we cannot think (much less pray) in the whirl and turmoil of the world. Hence the function of Retreats. But we need to put order into our thoughts: hence the value of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius.

"Some worthy object of enthusiasm and devotion behind the aimless passage of the years." Who will wonder at that young Catalan brick-layer singing at his work and singing the praises of the Lady who brought the Son of God into that world which, apart from Him, is a valley of tears?

G. S. BURNS.

EAST-ANGLIAN GLEANINGS

IF I had to choose among the English counties known to me, I would certainly award the palm, for picturesqueness and historic interest, to Suffolk. Doubtless, I cannot help being influenced by the fact that it has been the home of my kindred on the spear-side for many generations, and is in effect the *stammland* of my family. But even apart from this, I think my award would be the same, and that for several reasons.

In the first place, the natural beauty of Suffolk is very great. If quiet and sober, it is yet all-pervasive. The absence of mountains and hills, save where the border trenches on the chalk downs near Newmarket, is compensated by the magnificence of her wide skies (remarked on in beautiful words by Alice Meynell) and open seaboard, her sunsets and starry heavens. The most glorious starlight I have ever seen was over Blaxhall Heath (about nine miles north of Woodbridge) one August night many years gone by.

Suffolk is not strictly speaking flat, like the Fens, save in the river levels and coastal marshes. It consists of gentle rolling undulations, traversed by countless roads and by-ways bordered by stately trees and deep hedges, enriched and varied with many copses, heathlands and meres. Its climate, too, is good, not, like the Midlands, "sodden and unkind," but drier than most of England and wholesome. Everywhere the county wears the hue of health, in harmony with its light sandy flint-strewn soil and placid waters over-arched by the wide and open sky.

Again, if richly endowed by nature, Suffolk has certainly not lacked the service of art. Where will you find, all England through, such exquisite harmonies of colour as in her old brick manors and farmsteads, her brown half-timbered or thatched and pargeted dwellings, her vast black-boarded barns? East Anglian bricks have a peculiarly beautiful tone, and where will you find a better? Very many of the old farmhouses and cottages are roofed with pantiles like those of Holland, in perfect harmony with the brick-work, peacefully guarded by elm-trees, orchards and gardens that Alcinous might envy.

Again, where will you find more stately churches, and that even in the remotest villages? East Anglia is second to

none of England's provinces in the magnificence of her shrines. Norfolk is indeed the more blessed, for she possesses Norwich Cathedral and the ruin of Walsingham. However, Norfolk and Suffolk are so much alike that they may well be taken together as a whole, but I speak more of Suffolk only because I know it so much better. If Suffolk has no cathedral, it had the glorious Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, and its parish churches amaze us by their generous proportions and their wonderful beauty of a kind special to East Anglia. The vast majority are built of flint, with stone only for the quoins and windows; most have high and noble towers that serve for far-seen landmarks; a few, like Wickham Market, have leaden spires. (Wickham recalls the worthy Bernard Barton, who tells a correspondent on March 2, 1827: "Year in and year out I rarely go farther from home than Kesgrave one way, and Wickham the other.")¹

Where else will you find nature and art more happily wedded than in Norfolk and Suffolk? I cannot resist the pleasure of quoting the beautiful words of Father H. S. Squirrel:—

There is generally one way to approach a thing of interest and beauty and only one: St. Helen's, Ranworth, must be approached by river. The Great Artist used much silver and grey when He painted Norfolk. A silver ribbon is the river, edged with grey-green reeds that sway and rustle; there are grey-green willows. Now there is a patch of pale blue in the sky, now a gleam of sunlight—silver sunlight. Our forefathers planted their churches on little hills in Broad-land; they painted in silver and grey, too; flints that look silver in sunlight, stone that is grey. How they worked their flint—those clever forefathers! How they chose the right spot! they made their churches a part of Norfolk.²

If the shrines were beautiful, not less beautiful was their lavish adornment. After describing Ranworth and its painted rood-screen poetically, Father H. S. Squirrel continues:—"We do not count that we have any school of early religious painting in England; yet many of the panels of our rood-screens are masterly creations."³

¹ "Letters and Poems" (1853), p. 9.

² See *THE MONTH*, April, 1915, pp. 366—7.

³ *Ibid.*

The *Doom* at Wenhamston in Suffolk is a notable example.

The day of local patriotism will come again, and of all good causes. The swift stride of impious monopoly is confronted by the visible rebuilding of Christendom on a world-wide scale. The battle is set, and it is not difficult to believe and hope that the Church is destined to triumph upon earth once more before the end. With her will return all the good things that the tyranny of Mammon and his evil minister, the machine, has destroyed. In that day a Catholic English England will be good enough for Englishmen, and a Catholic East Anglia will be good enough for an East Anglian. There is a right and true provincialism that is familiar and homely without narrowness of mind. In this context it is refreshing to listen to Osbert Bokenham, a monk of Clare near Newmarket, about the middle of the fifteenth century—

And therefore spekyn and wrytyn I wyl playnly
Aftyr the language of Suthfolk speche—
And who-so-evere lyke not ther-by,
Wherever he lyst he better seche.¹
("Lyuys of Seyntys," p. 103.)

Among East Anglians Lydgate¹ is remembered but not read, though his fluent scholarly verse is far from provincial, while Bokenham is utterly forgotten, although he was no mere hack, and has reflections and comments of his own that lack not for humour and shrewdness.

The memorials of the dead are eloquent witnesses of the separation between Catholic and anti-Catholic times and regions. The following fifteenth century Brass from Foulsham Church, Norfolk, is transcribed in the *English Illustrated Magazine* of March, 1905 (p. 560):—

Here I ly John wyche livyde bute VIII yers
When dethe me clyppyd wt hys scharpe scheres.
Remebyr me I pray you asse often as ye lyste
A (as?) I should note forgete you to my mastyr ihesu cryst.

The fifteenth century gave us also the precious heritage of the *Paston Letters*, and the learned and valuable writings of Capgrave.

Deserving of record also is the anonymous monk of Clare, who translated into English verse Claudian's poem on

¹ =seek, (compare *beseech*).

² For a good appreciation of Lydgate see Dorothea Brennell's essay in *Pax*, June quarter, 1923.

Stilicho in 1445, with occasional digressions, of which the following is a favourable example:—

Marke Stilicoes life, whom peoplis preyed
With what labouris, of the regions wide
And Rome hir selfe. the consulat he upreised
ffor now the parlement pierys. wher thei goo or ryde
Seyen the duke of yorke hath god upon his side
Amen. amen. blissed Ihesu make this rumour trewe
And aftir feele¹ peryles. this prince with Ioie endewe.²

The sixteenth century opens with the fame of John Skelton, a somewhat Rabelaisian artist in satiric verse, who lampooned his fellow East-Anglian, Wolsey. In this disedifying priest of Diss, East Anglia may be pardoned for taking little interest, but his devout contemporary, Stephen Hawes, should not be forgotten. Elizabeth's reign is marked by plodding Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandry*. (Therein he condescends to believe in "a multitude of saints," but, as a "safe" Anglican opines that more good is done by following them "than showing them our complaints.") The highly-gifted and true poet Robert Greene, places his *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* at Fressingfield. This play is truly fragrant with "the country's sweet content." Tusser, born in 1524, and a singer in Norwich Cathedral in 1557, must have been a renegade Catholic. Greene, born in 1558, may well have been in good faith, and has left a record of sincere repentance of his misspent life. His writings, too, are remarkably free from grossness.

Of East Anglian Martyrs the best known are the Venerable Robert Southwell and the Venerable Henry Walpole, both belonging to Norfolk. Here, too, should be mentioned the martyrs' resourceful, valiant, and indispensable friend, the gifted convert, George Gilbert.

Of faithful Catholic families in Norfolk the Jerninghams of Costessey, the Bedingfields of Oxburgh, and the Pastons are well-known examples, and in Suffolk the Rookwoods of Euston and Coldham, and the Mannocks of Gifford's Hall. Ann and Dorothy Rookwood were Austin Canonesses at St. Ursula's, Louvain, in 1600 (also Bridget and Mary Wiseman of Wimbush in Essex); their Chaplain, Father John Fenn, came from St. Edmundsbury.³ The mother of the Worcestershire Franciscan martyr, the Venerable Arthur

¹ i.e., many.

² In "Anglia," XXVIII. (XVI.), p. 256.

³ See Guilday, "Eng. Cath. Refugees on the Continent," 379—380.

Bell (December 11, 1643) was sister to Francis Daniels of Acton Place, Long Melford.¹

In the same disastrous century Norfolk was the birth-place of two apostates, one a renegade priest and the other a layman, whose evil deeds yet live after them, Matthew Parker, the first Protestant usurper of St. Augustine's throne, and Nicholas Bacon, fellow-architect with William Cecil of the Elizabethan "settlement." Parker's promotion, to do him justice an unwelcome charge, was largely due to Sir Nicholas Bacon, together with Cecil; he had been in high favour with the Boleyn interest, and a confidant of the unhappy Anne Boleyn, who commended her daughter to his special care. The Lord-Keeper was almost as embarrassing a patron and benefactor as Philip of Hesse was to Luther. Under pressure from Elizabeth, a great stickler for the external propriety and ceremonial uniformity in her new Establishment, Parker had been striving to enforce a decent discipline, only to find that in Norfolk his admonitions were paralysed by the bad example of the Lord-Keeper. All Englishmen ought to know, or be made to know, what manner of men introduced the Elizabethan religion. God forbid that I should whitewash Oliver Cromwell, but it is only fair to say that Anglican Continuity-mongers have cleverly fathered upon that grim Nonconformist and his East Anglian tool, Dowsing, numberless crimes committed nearly a century before by the first Anglicans. In childhood I learned to shudder at the Protector who stabled his horses in the cathedrals, but, of course, I was not told what happened to all our churches under "Good Queen Bess."

The time, however, when the large majority of these churches were deliberately desecrated, or stripped of their valuables and turned into ruins, occurred in the earlier days immediately following the Reformation. So much so is this the case that the "Dark days" of Norfolk, so far as the Christian Faith is concerned, were not to be found during the Mediæval period, but in the over-vaunted days of Elizabeth Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord-Keeper of the Privy Seal to Queen Elizabeth, deliberately turned the parish church of St. Edmund's, Egmore, into a barn and a stable for his horses. In the light of all this, and of the grievous

¹ See "Catholic Record Soc. Publications," Vol. I., pp. 117—120.

revelations made manifest in the Elizabethan Archidiaconal Records, it becomes more and more manifest that the last half of the sixteenth century was a most godless period of English history.¹

Dr. Cox further tells us² that the number of abandoned and desecrated churches in Norfolk alone amounted to 125³. Of Bacon's further behaviour we learn from Parker's own testimony. Writing to Lady Bacon on February 6, 1568, he tells us:—

I sent my visitors into Norwich, Dion's country and mine, to set order and to know the state of the country whereof I heard, of credible and worshipful persons, that Gehazi and Judas had a wonderful haunt in the country, that *Quid vultis mihi dare?* had so much prevailed there among the Simonians, that now to sell and to buy benefices, to fleece parsonages and vicarages, that *omnia erant venalia*. And I was informed the best of the country, not under the degree of knights, were infected with the sore, so far that some one knight had four or five, some other seven or eight benefices clouted together, fleecing them all, defrauding the crown's subjects of their duty of prayers, somewhere setting boys and their serving-men to bear the names of such livings. Understanding this enormity, how the Gospel was thus universally pinched, to the discouraging of all good labourers in God's harvest, I meant to inquire of it, etc. In such inquisition was presented at Norwich, that my lord had set a serving-man not ordered, a mere lay-body, in the face of the whole city, to be a prebendary of the church there, and that he had another at home at his house, another prebendary; and bearing themselves great under my lord's authority, despised mine, to be at the church's visitation, etc.

This matter has been long tossed among that people of these two places thus used, which I knew not of till my visitors came home again, and inquiring of them first of the cathedral church, etc., I was informed of these two, of whom I told my lord himself what was spoken.

¹ J. C. Cox, "Norfolk Churches" (1910), Vol. II., pp. 48—49.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I., Introd., p. 46.

³ "There was far less church building and less maintenance of church fabrics during the time that Elizabeth was on the throne than in any other half century since the reconversion of England in early Saxon days."—J. C. Cox, "The English Parish Church," p. 198.

who not remembering their names, I ceased of talk, and yet he seemed not well content that they should not do their duties.¹

By the end of the seventeenth century all reasonable Protestants had come tardily to perceive the folly of Elizabethan bigotry:

Yet like the Papist's, is the poet's state,
Poor and disarmed, and hardly worth your hate.²

Of the later penal times available records seem to be scanty. From the *Universe* of October 2, 1925, we may gain a valuable glimpse of local Catholic history at Yarmouth:—

The seventy-fifth anniversary was celebrated with great rejoicing last Sunday, when a Solemn High Mass was sung by the Rector, the Rev. D. H. Thompson, S.J., who also preached a stirring sermon on the sufferings of our Catholic forefathers, and on the vicissitudes through which the Church in Yarmouth passed before emerging into the full light of day.

Reviewing the history of the mission, so far as there were records of it, he spoke of one, John Gross, a Jesuit priest, who ministered in the district at the risk of his life. At last he "was discovered in Lincoln and thrown into prison—into a cell where the tidal waters swept in, and there this man of gentle upbringing had to lie on damp straw, and very soon fell a victim to consumption, dying a martyr."

After his time there are meagre records of a priest in 1790 going to Yarmouth from Norwich, and in 1810, the Chaplain to the Bedingfields at Dene House was saying Mass there during the summer months. A little later on, the poor building in George Street was opened as a public chapel.

The present church was mainly due to the untiring energy of Don Lopez, a Spanish priest, who, coming to Yarmouth in 1841, took up the task of raising funds. He collected alms from the nobility of Spain, and bought the only site that the prejudice of the townsfolk would allow him to possess. At the time it was mere waste land between the town and the sea, and people laughed.

¹ In "Parker Corresp.", pp. 311—312.

² Pope, "The Satires of Dr. Donne," ii. 11—12.

But he said, "Mark me, the town will follow me"—and it did.

Defoe has left us an interesting description of his journey in the Eastern Counties. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries assuredly East Anglia has given to England her full share of masters in various arts. One has only to run over such names as Bloomfield, the Historian of Norfolk, Constable,¹ Crome, Arthur Young, Crabbe, William Taylor of Norwich, Robert Blomfield, Bernard Barton the Quaker Poet, his son-in-law Edward Fitzgerald (of Irish blood), Borrow, Groome, and Dr. Raven, Suffolk's able and fair-minded historian, the great explorer, in style, as in travels, Charles M. Doughty, whose brother's *Chronicles of Theberton* is a valuable contribution to local history, the distinguished editor Massingham, whose son, Mr. Harold Massingham, is a writer and naturalist of mark, and many another name, *quod dicere longum est*.

The poet Crabbe was a personal friend and guest of Sir Henry Englefield, who presented him with Ariosto's inkstand. "Sir Harry" also advised the division of *Tales of the Hall* into parts; "he judges it too long for the fastidiousness of modern readers."² His contemporary, Mrs. Inchbald, daughter of a Catholic farmer (who died in 1761), was born at Staningfield near Bury St. Edmund's in 1753, and died in 1821.

At Hengrave Hall, the English Austin Canonesses of Bruges, escaping the Revolutionary fury, sojourned for eight years, 1794—1802, and met with much assistance and goodwill from the surrounding Protestants, to Suffolk's credit be it spoken.³ Another refugee, the Frenchman Chateaubriand, also stayed awhile in the country.⁴

The early nineteenth century gave us the fiery, zealous, if not always prudent, William Eusebius Andrews, the son of convert parents, born at Norwich, who worked in the printing office of the *Norfolk Chronicle*, which he afterwards edited. The poet Fitzgerald's brother, Peter, was a Catholic.

Among East Anglian conversions, I may mention that of

¹ Descended from a Catholic family (see his *Life* by Leslie). Of this kindred was the Elizabethan Catholic poet, Henry Constable.

² See René Huchon, "George Crabbe and his Times," Eng. Transl., by Frederick Clarke, M.A. London: John Murray, 1907. Pp. 398, 399, 400, 410.

³ See the chapter "Eight Years in England" in C. S. Durrant's "Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs" (1925).

⁴ See W. S. Lilly, "The New France" (1913), p. 122.

my friend, Mr. Joseph G. Sutcliffe, late Vicar of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, which he resigned in 1880 to embrace the Faith, soon after publishing a very well-reasoned *Letter to the Parishioners of Great Yarmouth* (Burns & Oates, 1881). On first meeting him at Lourdes in 1922, when I said Mass in his private chapel at the Villa Viron, I found that he and his convert brother, Canon Sutcliffe of Westminster, had been boys at Shrewsbury School, and well remembered my mother and my grandparents.

Most joyful was the reacquisition by Catholics of the Slipper Chapel at Walsingham, while the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham has been revived in the church of Our Lady at King's Lynn, of which Father Fletcher has reminded us that "King Edward the Sixth, successor of Henry VIII. who, once a bare-footed pilgrim to Walsingham, destroyed the shrine at which he once had humbly prayed, contributed £50 to what was subsequently to be the real shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham."¹

Hard by Constable's own Flatford Mill and Valley Farm, and his little wooden studio, in a beautiful corner of Suffolk, over against a fine pre-Reformation parish church, St. Mary's Abbey, East Bergholt has taken up the broken threads of the past. "The Abbey of St. Mary, hidden among the trees, faces the church The loud chimes of the Abbey clock give the time to the countryside for miles around, and as one quietly trudges homewards on a summer night, when the harvest moon lights up the golden corn, and makes grey ghosts of the silent trees, the distant tinkle of the Abbey bells gives just that note of human interest to the scene, and accentuates the feeling of perfect, homely peace."²

Truly the nineteenth century saw the revival of the religious life in East Anglia as in other parts of England, and the twentieth century has seen Carmel take root in Fitzgerald's Woodbridge, hard by the beautiful parish church, whose tower bears chalice and host and Our Lady's monogram in cutwork flint round its base, and still nearer to the remains of the vanished Abbey. *Succisa virescit.*

H. E. G. ROPE.

¹ *The Universe*, June 19, 1908.

² A. Absell in *The Universe*, March 5, 1909.

A STUDY IN PASSION PLAYS

THE device, adopted by the authors of *The Third Floor Back*, *The Servant in the House*, and other plays and novels, of imagining a reincarnation of Our Lord in modern times, had, at one period, at least, the merit of novelty. However sentimental may have been the conception of the Central Figure in these productions, it is evident that a great number of people welcomed them as giving a fresh vision of His character. But the idea on which Messrs. Jerome K. Jerome, Charles Rann Kennedy, and their imitators worked is no longer new. It is therefore a little surprising to find an experienced novelist like Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith using it as the basis of the "Passion Play" included in a volume, published last year under her name, entitled "Saints in Sussex." The author of this volume has gone further than her predecessors along the lines indicated. They were content, for the most part, with a thinly disguised presentation of Our Lord's Person amid modern scenes. In "The Shepherd of Lattenden" she has boldly lifted the entire Passion narrative, Jewish names and all, and transplanted it to the little Sussex town of Rye. Here, amid the rural scenery of southern England, the awful tragedy of the Cross is re-enacted—with a difference. Arch-deacon Caiaphas and Canon Annas, with the help of one of "the Shepherd's" disciples, named Judas, plot the Disturber's death and succeed eventually in securing his conviction by the Mayor of Rye, a certain Mr. Pontius Pilate, and ultimately his death by crucifixion. The last scene in this curious work follows closely the New Testament story of the Resurrection.

In giving us such an exaggerated example of the device referred to, Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith has enabled us to see at a glance the difference between these modernized versions of the Biblical narrative and the mediæval Mystery and Miracle plays, and, incidentally, to discover the nature of the flaw which invalidates the former. It is for that reason only that I refer to what can scarcely pretend to be a very serious effort on this talented writer's part. By carrying forward to the very borders of the grotesque an idea that, in the hands of more cautious artists, was not without its fascination, she has discovered for us the error inherent in the whole class of literature to which her play belongs.

The vital fact, then, which she has overlooked is, that the

Incarnation cannot be conceived apart from its historical setting without fatal loss to its significance. Our Lord came in the fullness of time. Both time and place were deliberately chosen* by the Divine Dramatist for the enactment of this sublime Event. The fact that It happened where and when It did, was due to no arbitrary decree. It is to misunderstand the whole meaning of God's Providence in the matter to suppose that It could as well have taken place in another age and at some other place—in our own century, for instance, and in the little Sussex town of Rye. To so imagine the greatest Event in human history is to impoverish Its meaning to a literally unspeakable extent.

Our Saviour was born at the supreme crisis in world affairs. Mankind was at the end of its resources. The nations were bankrupt. There was everywhere a feeling of exhaustion, a consciousness that the time had arrived, if the race was to be saved from utter ruin, for some supreme Act of Divine Deliverance. Humanly speaking, this was the motive-force which found expression in the mission of the Baptist. Even Pagan poets were conscious of the same thing, as witness Virgil's prophetic lines. The splendour of the Divine Act was matched only by the gravity of the crisis which called it forth. To read the New Testament and to miss this is to lose the key to human history. To transpose the Passion to a period like our own is to be guilty of an anachronism in the worst possible sense. It is just this sense of world-crisis which gives that tense atmosphere to the Evangelists' story and to the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul. Only the fact that a Climax had been reached in the dealings of God with man could account for the language they used.

As with time so with place. It is almost inconceivable that anyone should imagine that, from the dramatic point of view, Anglican ecclesiastics could fittingly represent Annas and Caiaphas, the heirs of those who through the centuries had slain the prophets. Our Lord came to a race specially prepared for Him, and specially warned of His Advent. Capable of the most amazing heroism and of the most persistent endurance of any people, that race was also capable of an intensity of religious hatred which no other nation has ever shown. It is true to say that, as no other section of the human family could have given birth to those who formed the initial group of Apostles, so no other section could have begotten a Judas. The pages of the New Testament absolutely demand, for their

right interpretation, the sombre story of the Old Testament. Torn from their ethnological context, it is difficult to see what could be made of them. To place the Story of the Passion against the background of, say, Green's "Short History of the English People," produces an effect to describe which would require language that, in this connection, could only sound irreverent. But in order that the reader may be in a position to judge for himself of the success or otherwise with which Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith has effected this transposition, let me quote the opening passage of "The Shepherd of Lattenden." The scene is in the streets of Rye. Canon Annas meets Arch-deacon Caiaphas, and the following dialogue takes place:—

CAIAPHAS. Well met, dear man.

ANNAS. Well met, indeed. [*They shake hands and pat each other on the back.*]

CAIAPHAS. How goes our little plot?

ANNAS. Capital. I think you'll find everything pass off very smoothly.

CAIAPHAS. It'll be all over before Easter, I trust.

ANNAS. Oh, yes, yes! You can depend on that.

CAIAPHAS. I really shouldn't like to have anything at all unpleasant happen on the festival. Apart from one's own wish to keep the day holy one might have trouble with the crowds. They say he has a great influence over crowds.

ANNAS. Yes, so I've heard. Those violent, ignorant types often do—sort of animal magnetism, I suppose. Of course one feels dreadfully sorry about it all. [*He sighs heavily.*] But it really can't be allowed to go on.

CAIAPHAS. No, no. Of course not. Something must be done, and naturally one's first consideration must be the Church and country in general. Better that one man should die than have the whole Church involved, and the Romans get us in the end.

ANNAS. And take away our Church and nation.

CAIAPHAS. That's it, that's it. We can't allow these fanatics to turn the whole world upside down.

Here, it will be observed, the tone of intense and unrelenting hatred, inflamed by the fiercest patriotism and the narrowest bigotry known to history, which we find in the New Testament narrative, is transposed into a key of half-humorous understanding between two comfortable-minded English clerics. To say that, is to say that the Sacred Story has been tampered with in a manner which comes near suggesting literary sacrilege,

but which also deprives It, for all intelligent people, of its essential significance.

The same criticism applies to the representation of the Roman Governor. The jolly, fox-hunting county magnate, who plays the part in Miss Kaye-Smith's production, never for one moment suggests that, in his person, a vast Empire stands at the bar of judgment, that in the act of determining his Prisoner's fate he is determining the whole course of future history. The atmosphere is that of the Petty Sessions. To reply that neither Pilate nor his modern understudy were, in fact, aware of the part they were playing is no answer. It is the part of the dramatist to convey to the reader the true significance of the events described, whether his characters are themselves aware of that significance or not. This the Gospel writers do. The glimpses we catch in their pages of Roman legionaries, the references to Cæsar, and the very manner of death to which the Victim is condemned, never allow us for a moment to forget that we are spectators of the scene in which the Son of God confronts with infinite dignity the cruel might of pagan Rome. The Pilate of the Gospels is the representative of a world-wide, irreligious civilization, and his vacillation reveals the inherent weakness of the Power which then ruled the world. The Mayor of Rye, on the other hand, suggests only—the Mayor of Rye, if it is not a libel on that official to say so.

The truth is that the type of production to which this play belongs starts from the wrong point. In each case, the author, judging by the tone and spirit of his work, has some message to convey, some criticism of his generation to make. It may be that he is anxious to recommend some form of "Christian Socialism" or he is concerned to "show up" the shabby morality of a middle-class boarding-house. In order to give the authority of traditional religion to the lesson conveyed he invokes the Person of Jesus Christ, either undisguisedly or under some thin veil of anonymity. Our Lord is thus brought in to endorse what Mr. Jerome or Mr. Kennedy or some other literary prophet of our age wants to say. The "message" does not proceed from the historical Figure of Our Lord, a necessary and natural application of His known teaching, but that Figure is cut to suit the part it has to play in preaching this particular sermon. The sermon defines the Preacher rather than the reverse.

One must be cautious in suggesting motives, but I confess

that "The Shepherd of Lattenden" would seem to indicate that its author has followed the same order. I am unable to rid my mind of the idea that Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith wanted, primarily, to "show-up" a certain type of Anglican clergyman as she has shown up Anglican clergymen in other of her books. To put men of this type in the place of Annas and Caiaphas, and represent them as acting in the same way as did those leaders of Judaism would, of course, put them in as odious a position as it was possible to conceive. Certain superficial resemblances could be utilized, and, for the rest, the indictment must depend on any skill the writer might possess in making real the retold story of the Gospels. The method obviously fails. The whole situation is far too artificial to carry conviction. There results only a sentimentalized conception of Our Lord and a crude portrayal of certain ugly moral traits as seen in the light of that conception. The whole thing is banal and ineffective. But the literary failure is the least serious part of the business. The exploiting of the infinitely sacred story of the Cross for such an end is a matter the best comment on which is, perhaps, silence.

Productions of this kind have been welcomed by a section of the public because they seemed to reveal the relevancy of historical Christianity to the needs of modern life. When, for instance, W. T. Stead wrote "If Christ Came to Chicago," the very phrase itself brought traditional beliefs into relation with the evils of our great modern cities and indicated that, nineteen hundred years old though it was, Christianity still had a living message for the world. Unfortunately, in the case of the plays referred to, the method employed was, as has been shown, both objectionable from a religious standpoint and ineffective as propaganda. Moreover, it was unnecessary. The relevancy of the Christian story to the world we live in can be shown without recourse to devices of the kind described. In order to substantiate that statement, we have only to turn to the Passion Plays of mediæval times or to Passion Plays modelled on mediæval lines. There, it is true, we find anachronisms, but they are of a different kind to those in the play we have been examining. Miss Kaye-Smith's Sussex peasants speak and act more or less as certain Jewish peasants spoke and acted nineteen centuries ago. But in the "Mysteries" and "Miracles," those Jewish peasants are represented as acting and speaking after the fashion of contemporary peasants. The difference is vital. In the one case, the starting-point is the present which

assumes the garb of the past. In the other case, the starting-point is the historical Christian tradition which takes up into itself elements from the present.

No better example of the latter method could be found than a Passion Play which, curiously, is also of Sussex origin, published last year by the St. Dominic's Press, at Ditchling. No doubt the old-world flavour which it carries is much enhanced by the style in which it is got up and printed, a style which will need no description for those familiar with the St. Dominic's Press. But the mediæval quality of "Judas" goes much deeper than this, and nowhere is it better revealed than in the way in which the author, while absolutely faithful to the New Testament original, introduces references to matters peculiar to his own times. Thus, we find Judas complaining to Caiaphas that his Master has missed a great opportunity of becoming wealthy, since those who were pardoned for their sins were glad to pay for the privilege, and this is how the conversation proceeds :—

JUDAS.

When sin is sold

There is a magic in the gold
Which makes it ever hard to hold ;
But if the sinner receive guerdon
Not in money paid but pardon,
And he thereafter, for this peace
Of mind and heart, feeling release
From conscience, pays us in hard cash,
The price of sins. . . .

CAIAPHAS.

Thou talkest trash

For God alone forgiveth sin.
So if this Nazarene should win
The people by such tricks, it seems
The one thou followest blasphemous
And lives in danger of the death.

JUDAS.

Hold, I bid thee by God's breath !
HE HATH FORGIVEN SIN ; for proof
The man let down through the roof,
Because the crowd had filled the place,
Claimeth to have had this grace,
Claimeth Jesus made him whole,
Cured the body, cleansed the soul.
That palsied one now clean doth live !

CAIAPHAS. Let ev'ry doctor then forgive !
His reputation is assured
When he, to sick so seldom cured,
Offers them such remedy.
The market price of Blasphemy,
In daily, comprehensive range,
Will soon be quoted on Exchange,
Contangos, carry-overs, options
In petty larcenies and arsons,
Perjuries and parricide !

JUDAS. Craft jealousy is hard to hide.

CAIAPHAS. In this chaotic age of cant
Insurance Companies will grant
Policies against discovery
In any crime or roguery !

The object of the writer of this Passion Play (described simply as the author of "Nisi Dominus") was, I take it, simply to retell, with such quaint artistry as he might, the story of Judas. He has achieved this, and we may agree with the reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement*, who remarked on the spontaneity of the dialogue. But that spontaneity never causes the playwright to overleap what the same critic calls the "severe framework" of his play. Though he introduces anachronisms, they are not essentially alien to the situation, and, though there are references to matters of which Caiaphas and Judas must have been ignorant, they are not forced, and no one could imagine that the little work was written for the purpose of getting in these caustic yet playful comments on present-day affairs. Slight as is this production it is sufficient to show that there is no need, in order to reveal the relevancy of the Gospel Story to modern issues, to violate history. "Judas" is brief and simple in the extreme, but though it has neither bulk nor ornateness it is, to my mind, an almost perfect example of that sane blending of reverence and gaiety characteristic of the mediæval plays, and for all who would imitate those plays, an excellent model.

There has been of late a somewhat indiscriminating enthusiasm regarding the revival of sacred drama. To some it has seemed to indicate a return to the Faith and ideals of the Catholic past.

STANLEY B. JAMES.

ELIAS OF CORTONA : IN MITIGATION

AMONG the many contributions to Franciscan history which the centenary year has produced in honour of St. Francis, a high place has been secured, and will—I fancy—be kept by Mr. Harold Goad's *Franciscan Italy*. It is an extremely well and, at times, beautifully written book, touching with delightful freshness on well worn themes and incidents, alive with many a novel point of view—well substantiated, always, but, at times, so surprising as almost at one bound to startle the reader out of long established illusions—replete with local information, culled on the spot and rarely met with in other books, beautifully illustrated, and, last but not least, well indexed.

This, however, is not a review. I simply propose, with due acknowledgment herewith of the sources of my information, to gather up and record what the author of *Franciscan Italy* has to tell us about that interesting man, who figures so largely in the early history of the Order, Brother Elias of Cortona. I do this all the more willingly as, some years ago, an article of mine on Elias appeared in *THE MONTH*,¹ of which the present is to some extent a retraction.

Broadly speaking, the theory upheld is thus expressed: "In these circumstances (the general disquiet in the Order, which brought Francis back from the East in 1219, with Elias, Peter Catano and Cæsar of Speyer) we are persuaded that among our many debts to the Papacy of the thirteenth century not the least is that, while rendering the Franciscan Order possible, it preserved to us so large a part of its spiritual treasure. This we owe especially to two great men, Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., and Vicar, afterwards Minister General, Elias" (p. 95). That Elias, in all his public acts, up to his deposition in 1239, had the full support of the Holy See, is called in question by none, and thus the above quotation may be taken as a convenient summary of his work, the preservation of the Order as such, and the preservation of most of what was practically maintainable of its primitive spirit.

All but a few are prepared to acknowledge now that, if the outward structure of Franciscanism as an ordered movement was to endure at all, it had to be put on an organized footing. If the temporary absence of Francis

¹ August, 1921.

in the East had brought such confusion, what would result at his death? So organization came, not merely in the shape of a Rule—fortified by Papal Bull—but in the shape of a ruler. Francis himself had no taste for administrative work, nor the strength requisite, and so he willingly left it to the man of his choice, Brother Elias. "Through the critical years that followed Francis's return from the East, it was Elias who continually directed, extended, organized and governed distant provinces, with wisdom and unremitting energy. There can be no question of Francis's love and gratitude, or of the value he set on Elias's advice. He would never have so trusted him, had not Elias been sincere, gifted as Francis was with inerrant insight into the hearts of men" (p. 142). The concluding sentence of the above is particularly worthy of consideration, and that the picture is not overdrawn is clear to all who remember, for example, Jordan a Giano's account of the Chapter of 1221, or who read that most authentic source of Franciscan history, the *Lives* of St. Francis, by Thomas of Celano.

But, of course, the Elias of later day obloquy, the man who, we are told, went near to wrecking the Order, the antithesis of everything Franciscan, the evil genius of the early Franciscans, is the Elias, as we must look for him, *after* the death of Francis had deprived him of the saving influences of his guide and father. That the personal and spiritual life of Elias underwent a great change—however we may account for it—can hardly be denied, but the point for us to remember is that his policy appears consistent throughout, rooted in what he had already begun during the Founder's lifetime, carried forward during his own term of office as Minister General, and upheld and, in fact, intensified by his immediate successors.

As for the first stage of his government, there can be little doubt that Francis and his Vicar were in complete agreement. A Francis gloomily despondent over his Order, sulkily washing his hands of it and sojourning solitary with a few faithful ones in the valley of Rieti, where he is represented as complaining behind their backs of the ministers he had himself appointed, is a picture drawn for us by the *Speculum Perfectionis* of nearly a century later, a work which, however beautiful in parts, has been allowed—in most unhistorical fashion—to supplant the earliest lives of the saint, written by one who was official archivist and historian of the Order under three such different rulers as Elias, Crescentius

and John of Parma, in which we find no hint of disunion. It is, indeed, a startling assertion that Mr. Goad makes (p. 127), that "it is impossible not to see the hand of Elias" in the drawing up of that most Franciscan of documents, the *Testament* of St. Francis; but why should it not be true? Elias was the close companion of the Saint during the last journey from Siena to Assisi and the Portiuncula, during which the *Testament* was dictated, and it certainly does contain very strong passages on the need of obedience to authority, and of orthodoxy, with minute directions obviously intended to strengthen the hands of the governing authority in the Order. "And yet," writes Mr. Goad, "there are still historians who, in face of all evidence, believe that these two great men were not at one as to the absolute and urgent need for discipline."

The death of Francis brought an interlude, for Elias, in the work of government. Instead, he was entrusted by Pope Gregory IX. with the task of constructing a fitting tomb and church for the Saint. It is here especially that Mr. Goad shows his skill in demolishing a whole series of popular illusions. To begin with, he produces conclusive evidence to show that the building of the *Sacro Convento* was not in the least a "rock of scandal" splitting the Order into hostile groups. It was *meant* to be a fortress convent—or palace, if you will—for the convenience of the Popes, who often used it as such, for the storing of their treasury, and for the safe custody of the body of Francis. Impossible to ignore this last point. Contemporary history abounds with instances of the violent theft of cherished relics, and the mutilation of the bodies of saints. Thrice did the Perugians penetrate to the crypt of *San Francesco* and begin to take up the paving, searching for the priceless body, and rightly may we rejoice in the skill and forethought of Elias, who—though somewhat brusquely—shrouded it with such care. Far from viewing its rapid rise with angry but impotent dismay, the friars, one and all, were proud of it. It is spoken of with obvious approval in the final chapter of the *Legend of the Three Companions*; St. Clare was proud of it—as we learn from her *Life* by Celano; the faithful Jacoba de Settesoli lies buried there, with many of the early companions of Francis, including Leo himself, who did not disdain to dwell in the *Sacro Convento*, and bequeath to it that most precious of Franciscan relics, the autograph writing given to him by the Saint. And what becomes, then, of the famous story of

the bowl set up by Elias for the reception of alms, and—at the instigation of Giles—overturned by Leo who, by order of Elias was scourged for his pains? This ugly story—as Mr. Goad calls it—has short shrift under his pen, and one must surely agree he has for ever demolished it. It first appears in the *Speculum Vitæ* of the fourteenth century. It is unknown to the compilers of the *Fioretti*, where Elias figures as the acknowledged villain of the piece. How is it that Salimbene, that arch-compiler of gossip, who disliked Elias intensely, has no knowledge of the succulent story: how is it that Eccleston—likewise no friend of Elias—knows nothing of it either? But the author of *Franciscan Italy* will not rest at this. "The incident," he writes (p. 147), "is said to have occurred hard by the new buildings, whose magnitude enraged the gentle Leo, but the land was not acquired till March, 1228, and Elias lost the Vicar Generalship in May, 1227. Could Elias have had Leo scourged and banished if he had no authority over him?" A hundred years later, however, when it was fashionable among a certain group of friars, to throw obloquy upon Elias as the first representative of the official governing class in the Order, the story appeared most opportunely and was seized on at once to lend weight to the already overladen bias against him of the *Speculum Perfectionis*. And after all was the contrast so great between the *Sacro Convento* and the Portiuncula? The prevailing idea of a magnificent church rising over the tomb of Francis, and a few wattle huts—the home of a faithful remnant—marking the place of Francis's birth to the new life, is utterly false. Much of the beauty of *San Francesco* is of later date. As Elias built it, it was a big, indeed, but bare, barn-like, aisle-less structure, with a vaulted apse and wooden roof over the nave and lancet windows, the model of countless other Franciscan churches in Italy; and the Portiuncula—meanwhile—was a vast, rambling, stone structure—we remember the Assisians building this, or part of it during the lifetime of Francis—with a courtyard and a porter's lodge, capable in all of housing many scores of friars. One was an imposing architectural unit, the other a haphazard structure, but both were in stone and large, though neither was so magnificent as the church-tomb of Anthony at Padua, or the Ara Coeli at Rome, about which no recriminations are ever alleged to have arisen.

During his second term of government, when he succeeded John Parenti as Minister General in 1232, Elias certainly

did great work for the Order, promoting its efficiency in every direction. None call this in question, but many still consider that he did so at the cost of sacrificing the spiritual content of the Franciscan message, sowing thus early the baneful seeds of division. Now Elias was certainly deposed from his office by the Pope—on which a word later—but if this was for undermining the essential spirit of the Order, how is it that his saintly successors, universally acknowledged as true followers of Francis, carried on his policy and developed it? St. Bonaventure expressly advocates the large convent, facilities for study, intellectual work as a fitting substitute for manual work and the quest. Haynes of Faversham favours ample kitchen-gardens that the lay-brothers may cultivate therein what, hitherto, they have been wont to secure by begging. Under the same General the Order becomes definitely an Order of priests, with lay-brothers to help in domestic matters exclusively, as opposed to one in which lay and clerical brethren are mingled indiscriminately. John of Parma, like Elias, keeps Thomas of Celano as the official historian, and it is he who accepts from the Benedictines the grand church of the Ara Cœli at Rome. The system of provinces and provincial officials, begun in the days of Francis, vastly extended under Elias, is maintained and utilized by his successors. Finally, it is interesting to note that in two years, Albert of Pisa and Haynes of Faversham obtained seven times as many "letters from the Roman Curia," *i.e.*, privileges and dispensations—as had Elias in the whole term of his administration.

What, then, were the causes of his deposition by Pope Gregory at the famous chapter of 1239? It really seems to be clear that he was deposed, not because his administration was un-Franciscan, but because it was pursued in a haughty, tyrannical and autocratic manner. Elias had contrived to make himself intensely unpopular with an influential group of Provincial Ministers, and had, by his own personal life, forfeited the esteem of many of the saintly survivors of Francis. The whole business is thus brought down to quite a commonplace and almost sordid level compared with the picturesque versions, with which we are familiar, in which a few resolute and devoted friars are seen battling to save the inheritance of Francis from the depredations of the iron-willed and imperious Elias. Mr. Chesterton, in his *Life of St. Francis*, says of Elias that, though a bad Franciscan, he would have made a good Dominican. I am afraid that

verdict cannot stand. Elias would have been just as good—or bad—among the Friars Preachers as he was among the Friars Minor. I cannot do better than quote at some length from Mr. Goad (pp. 169—170).

"From the Pope's great palace at Assisi he [Elias] ruled the provinces despotically, dividing them till there were no fewer than seventy-two, and creating for their administration a vast bureaucracy of laymen, directly dependent on himself. After 1233 he summoned no more triennial Chapters-General, regarding them as an expense, a source of confusion and possibly of discord in the Order. . . . To take their place as a centralizing instrument, Elias sent visitors to all the provinces, to give instructions, to collect money, to make reports for his own private use. They were usually lay-men and, it was said, unlettered; whereas the Order was becoming an Order of learned 'clerks.' In any case they were intensely unpopular, especially in England where the visitations of a certain most inquisitional German lawyer, Wyger, brought matters to a head. The Scottish Province refused to recognize him; the English Provincial Minister, Aymon of Faversham, summoned a chapter to Oxford, which decided to make formal protest to the Pope. The very success of Elias in drawing so much intellect into the Order was now to be his ruin. . . .

"It seems to be quite a mistake to imagine that the downfall of Elias was connected with the relaxation of the Rule that he is considered to have favoured and the great church of Assisi that he built. It would have been impossible to accuse Elias on this score to the Pope, who really was chief creator of the building. The attack on his authority was inspired by other motives, and developed along quite other lines.

"In the first place, Elias had the supreme defect of all great organizing spirits; his system was over-centralized and lacking in elasticity. Secondly, he paid no account to national prejudices and distinctions. For example, in England the popular dislike of foreign prelates was a factor which Kings, such as Henry III., had been forced to heed, while the interference of Pope Innocent in favour of his vassal John, strongly contributed to bring that potentate to Runnymede. Above all else, popular feeling in the provinces objected to the sending of large sums of money to Italy; the year 1235 in England marks the very climax of this crisis;

and money was precisely what Elias wanted. Lastly, both he and his agents were laymen, than which there could be no greater insult—Eccleston says."

It is time to bring this study to an end. After his deposition "Elias retired to Cortona and wrote a letter of apology and submission to Gregory, entrusting it to Albert of Pisa, his successor in the Generalship. It was found undelivered in the latter's pocket, at his death a few months later. [For once the reader of *Franciscan Italy* regrets the absence of foot-notes giving references.] Efforts at reconciliation from both sides were vitiated by calumny and mutual distrust" (p. 172). The subsequent history of Elias, his alliance with the Emperor Frederick, his excommunication, and, finally, his expulsion from the Order by Innocent IV., is well known enough and furnishes no matter for conflicting views. The great mistake has simply been to allow the career of Elias during the ten years between 1240 and 1250 to distort one's estimate of his previous good work, and colour our view of an entire life. Had Elias, like John of Parma, at a later date, retired after his deposition to some secluded convent and given himself up to a life of prayer and austerity, one cannot doubt but that the popular verdict concerning him would have been a very different one. It is in this final decade of his life that the real tragedy of Elias lies. Comforting, however, is it to know that a complete reconciliation was effected before death, and that he died in the old familiar grey habit, and was buried in his new church of St. Francis at Cortona. Father Cuthbert, in his *Life of St. Francis*, speaks, I think, of this church as giving the impression of being cold and lifeless, as though the chill spirit of the builder had saturated its very stones, but here is a somewhat altered verdict—

"In Cortona, that venerable high placed city which stands so proudly on its mountain throne, dominating the wide valley of the Chiana, Brother 'the Lord Elias' was living as a prince, protected by immemorial Etruscan ramparts, flattered by Ghibelline burghers, and surrounded by a large band of friars who had cast in their lot with his. The city had made over to him valuable land, 'the Queen's bath' as it was called, and thereon he was building a new church and convent. . . . Enough remains of this degraded and neglected structure to witness to the piety of its excommunicated builder and to answer the slanders brought against his faith" (p. 176).

This endeavour to estimate aright the influence of Elias might appear, at first sight, to be a matter of merely passing historical interest. We should, however, remember that two very diverse corollaries depend upon the verdict. It is customary to look on the Franciscan family as a house divided against itself almost from the very beginning, but if there is any truth in what has been written above, it is clear that the first acute division in the Order did not make itself felt till after the death of St. Bonaventure. Although there was always what, for convenience sake, we may style the *hermit section* of the Order, made up of those who chose to live in little groups, in remote convents away from the turmoil of men and disengaged from all wide apostolate, the Order, as a whole, continued to be—as Francis certainly intended—an actively apostolic one, engaged in missionary work, preaching, teaching, administering the sacraments. Not till after the death of Bonaventure did the two elements come into conflict, and the cause was the violently militant attitude of the "spirituals," as they were called, *i.e.*, the *hermit section* of the Order, led by such men as Angelo Clareno and Ubertino da Casale who—with much tendentious literature to support them—sought to impose their manner of life upon the whole Order. Nothing could have been more opposed to the will of Francis, who, though ready enough to allow and encourage the retired life for such as felt called thereto, never thought of himself—after the advice of Clare and Sylvester—or of his followers as other than apostolic men called to labour actively for the salvation of souls. The two modes of life—so charmingly delineated for us in the two main sections of the *Fioretti*—were meant to be ancillary one to the other, not merely in the Order as a whole, but in the individual friar; and the history of the Order shows most clearly that every effort of reform was simply a reaction against the occasional tendency to over-emphasize the active, organized life. Such, at the beginning were the Observants in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, though, in time, they developed so greatly as to absorb and utilize all that was best in the double tradition, and become a great family of their own. To the same motive may clearly be traced the Capuchin reform in the sixteenth century, and the *Ritiro* movement in the seventeenth and eighteenth.

Whatever, then, we may think of Elias, it does not appear that on him should lie the blame for subsequent disunion.

DOMINIC DEVAS, O.F.M.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF LE PUY

THE steep volcanic rocks on which Le Puy is built thrust themselves out of the ground in the midst of a fertile valley. It is a strange old city in the heart of that extinct volcanic district of Auvergne, the battle-ground of geologists in the last century, the battle-ground of Nature in the remote past. The pointed rock on which is perched the Chapel of St. Michel is thrust up from the earth like a Titanic finger pointing from Hell to Heaven, sanctified by the little church balanced on its top. Should another upheaval convulse the earth, it might be thought that the shrine would topple over with very little shaking. But no, its foundations are well rooted; it has clung to its perilous hold for ten long centuries, and still triumphantly braves the finger of Time. A weird, strange old city—unlike any other. Its grim, ruinous houses, built of the black volcanic rock might themselves have been cast up from the infernal regions. The builders must have felt that these up-heaved rocks and buildings needed hallowing, and saw to it that the Cross should stretch its arms across the valley. Their faith was rewarded, for from the third century onwards Le Puy became a hallowed shrine. The colossal statue of Our Lady dominates the town. St. Joseph faces her across the river. St. Michael and the great cathedral of Notre Dame have guarded and watched over the city from the early ages of the Faith.

Tradition tells us that the district of Le Velay was converted to Christianity by St. George, one of the seventy-two disciples of Our Lord, sent by St. Peter to this wild and desolate part of Gaul. From the first century onwards legends gathered round the country side. Miracles of healing took place; a miraculous fall of snow, as at Santa Maria Maggiore, showed where Our Lady wished her church to stand. The sanctuary on Mont Anis was dedicated by angels to Our Lady and for centuries was called the Angels' Church. It became a place of pilgrimage from the earliest times, and through the Middle Ages was the most renowned in France. Charlemagne knelt at its shrine, and we are told that the Saracen, Mirat, besieged in his fortress of Lourdes by Roland and by the Emperor himself, was converted by the Bishop of Le Puy, and persuaded to do homage, not to Charlemagne, his enemy, but to Notre Dame du Puy, Lourdes thus becoming her fief. From that time onwards Popes and Emperors jostled one another in the steep and narrow streets. The culminating glory of Le Puy

was reached when St. Louis brought the miracle-working ebony image of the Virgin and Child from the Holy Land, and presented it to the Cathedral on his pilgrimage thither in 1254. This seems the most likely origin of the *Vièrge Noire*, which came almost certainly from Egypt or Palestine, enveloped in linen wrappings which allowed the faces only of the Mother and Child to be seen. From this time the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Le Puy became a national one. She was constantly invoked to stay the plague, and was appealed to by all classes in France. Philippe III. gave a fragment of the True Cross, Charles VI. a golden chalice, Charles VII. went as a pilgrim to Notre Dame du Puy, and brought the standards won from the English by Joan of Arc. The Maid herself was never there, but we are told that she sent her mother and her almoner to represent her at the jubilee of 1429, at the time when she herself was making her triumphal entry into Orleans. Pilgrims from all nations braved privations and fatigue to do honour to Our Lady of Le Puy. St. Anthony of Padua spent two years in the Convent of the Cordeliers, and here, tradition tells us, St. Dominic was inspired to institute the devotion of the Rosary. The "*Angelus*" takes its origin from Le Puy. In 1449 Agnes Montal left money for the ringing of bells, morning, noon and night, as a reminder to the faithful to say the Hail Mary in remembrance of the Incarnation. Five years later the pious custom was consecrated by Pope Callixtus III. Earlier still, in 1096, the "*Salve Regina*," now part of the liturgy, was composed by Adhèmar de Monteuil, Bishop of Le Puy on the eve of his departure for the first Crusade, and it became the battle song of the Crusaders. And to turn to later developments; the League of the Apostleship of Prayer was founded by Père Ramière, S.J., at Vals, under the shadow of Le Puy.

Alas! at the Revolution the miraculous image of Our Lady was destroyed, together with many of the most precious possessions of the Cathedral—burnt in the market-place by an unbelieving and ferocious crowd. Popes, bishops, saints, kings, unnumbered generations had knelt at that shrine, and implored Our Lady's blessing. The image was destroyed; the devotion to her did not cease. A copy of the original image existed, and takes its place to-day. A solemn service of reparation was held in 1862, and pilgrimages have continued from that date. The Jubilee of 1921 was attended by many thousand pilgrims, and once more the image of Our Lady was carried in procession and with rejoicing through the streets.

In the old days the people in the town below could see the

priest at the altar lift up the Sacred Host, for the Cathedral is raised high above the town, and flight after flight of steps rise to the level of the choir. But now the west end is blocked, and the steps have been diverted, branching off on the left to the cloisters, on the right to the entrance of the church, entered by a side door far up the nave. The Cathedral itself is one of the earliest and most splendid examples of Romanesque architecture in France. Antiquity broods over it. Built on a steep slope, it rears its striped west front, patterned with dark and light volcanic stone, high above the town, and is entered by a deep cavernous porch or narthex from which the great steps still mount, and then diverge to right and left. It is, in fact, an architectural *tour de force*, for there being no flat space on which to enlarge the primitive church, the builders raised a platform far over the head of the staircase and thus prolonged the nave westward—a unique achievement. Bodington, in his "Romance Churches of France," points out that while borrowing from almost every school of Romanesque architecture, the Cathedral of Le Puy differs from every other church. "Where else," he asks, "could we find such an amazing variety of architectural features brought together upon such a unique site?"¹

It is with a sense almost of oppression, bowed down with the weight of history, that we mount up into the dim nave of the old church, crowded with historic memories, and penetrated with the atmosphere of devotion. The ghosts of that historic past seem to take visible shape within its walls, and to call us to other scenes and other climes. Le Puy carries us back to even a remoter past than does the great basilica of Vézelay, charged though it too is with memories of great men, and heroic deeds. But at Le Puy we look back through the vista of the ages, and the vision opens out before us of Sassanian Persia and its architecture, its influence transmitted through the old trade routes from the East and visible here before our eyes in the bracket supports—"squinsches"—of the cathedral dome, a device imported directly from Persia. We are taken back in thought to the dim glories of Ctesiphon and Baghdad, and the ancient civilization of the East. We pass on to Byzantine glories, to the ancient churches of Ravenna—for no one who has seen San Vitale can fail to recall it when gazing at the capitals of the columns at Le Puy—and as we gaze, we see Westminster Cathedral before us, with its nave of many cupolas as here. But no gold and radiance of mosaic

¹ Page 118.

lights up the dim aisles of Le Puy, as at Ravenna, Monreale, or at Westminster. Save for the candles on the high altar, and the red glow of the sanctuary lamps, the great church is steeped in gloom. To this our eyes must get accustomed. But then we gradually discover the exquisite moulding of the capitals, in lovely contrast with the massive solidity of the pillars, the entrancing beauty of the transept apses, and the sombre richness of the polychrome colouring—dark brown and tawny—most impressive in its austerity. Do not leave without having seen the Bible of Theodulph, a splendid ninth century manuscript in beautiful preservation, nor without visiting the cloisters, among the most ancient in France. Mermaids must have cast their spell over the craftsmen of Le Puy, for we see them carved in the cloister, in the south porch, and in the chapel of St. Michel. And the beautiful twelfth century south porch must not be omitted, its inner arches joined to the outer ones by cross braces, a most unusual construction. The capitals of the columns and the group of shafts carrying the arches, "remind me," says Sir Thomas Jackson, "in their semi-barbarous richness, of Indian work." It would seem that the builders brought to their work recollections of travels even further east than they would have been led by the Crusades. But when we have wandered all through the Cathedral precincts, there is yet more to see. The colossal statue of Our Lady, Notre Dame de France, made from the cannon taken at Sebastopol and crowning the city, though not a thing of beauty, is imposing, and strengthens our impression that Le Puy is unlike all other places. The modern town, at the foot of the hill, is clean, with wide streets, a fine museum, and well-cared-for public garden. The red roofs of the newer houses give a general impression of brightness, quite belied by the old city clinging to the hill, black with age and grime. Nowhere else have we seen such narrow alleys and ruinous old houses, apparently crumbling to pieces before our eyes. And yet they still hold together, their inhabitants are clean, and the want of sanitation is not so obvious as one might expect. We noticed the pallor of the children, who can get but little sun, but their grandmothers sit in numbers in the streets and alleys, bending over the pillow lace for which the town is famed, so that life in Le Puy seems to lead to old age. Women wear a variation of the famous Provençal head-dress—a close white lace cap as a foundation for the two long bows of black, or sometimes coloured ribbon, which lie close to the head like folded wings—the most becoming of head-dresses, giving grace and dignity to

faces otherwise ordinary. The women of Le Puy, however, though they lack the classic beauty of their sisters at Arles, have their own charm, heightened undoubtedly by the graceful cap. Long may they cling to it! Yet one more of the treasures of Le Puy remains; the little church of St. Michel de l'Aiguille, perched high on its pinnacle of basaltic rock, and only reached by a climb of many steps. It is a gem of Romanesque architecture. Bodington looks on it as late Carolingian, 962-984. Sir Thomas Jackson places it at least a century later. It is small but perfect in its decoration and proportions. We mount a steep flight of steps to the little façade, with its horse-shoe trefoiled arch decorated with exquisite interlacing mosaic patterns made up with fragments of coloured basalt, brick and marble. On the lintel of the doorway two mermaids in relief face one another; strange beasts project from the corbels, and above the arch of the doorway is a richly arcaded cornice, figures standing in the arches, and the supporting corbels formed by human hands, a device seen also in the Cathedral porch.

Inside the little chapel all is peace, and grateful shelter from the blazing sun without. It is very lonely, but not deserted. The fresco of St. Michael over the high altar, once bright with many colours is now dim with age, toning in with the lights and shadows of the faintly-coloured walls. Two plaster angels guard the shrine; seated figures with brooding wings as though keeping watch over the Holy Sepulchre. The faded gold and green and crimson of their robes has softened into beautiful harmonies of colour; no trace of garishness left. They are gracious figures, fitting dwellers in that hallowed spot, and company to any soul who would climb up here to rest and meditate. And what a spot in which to meditate! Could the old craftsmen return to earth, surely they would see with delight the lasting character of their work—the delicately moulded capitals of the little pillars, Byzantine, as are those of the Cathedral, and with lovely interlacing patterns. The sheer beauty of the little church, so fragile, yet so solid, penetrates one's very being, and holds one heart and soul. The shadows lengthen, the sun goes down in glory, irradiating the golden plain below, and yet it is hard to tear ourselves away. It must be done; we slowly descend the steep rock staircase back again into the old city, passing yet another treasure of the Middle Ages, the so-called Temple of Diana, now the chapel of St. Claire, and thread our way into the lower town, trusting that Fate will guide our steps again to Le Puy, most strangely enthralling of mediæval cities.

S. LIVEING.

THE PORTENT OF PAPINI

WHEN Giovanni Papini, the well-known Florentine writer and convert, first published in 1920 his celebrated "Life of Christ," he drew attention in the preface to the fact that only six years previously he had been himself one of the most bitter and violent opponents in Italy of everything for which Christ and Christianity stand. Our Divine Lord, though, he added, has more than once become the object ultimately of the most passionate devotion on the part of those very persons who seemed at first most bitterly hostile to His teaching. "The school of hatred," he concluded, "is a better one in which to learn to love, at all events than that of indifference."

Those who had followed closely the literary career of Papini from the year 1903, when he first started a monthly magazine in Florence, called the *Leonardo*, were only too well acquainted with his early anti-Christian outlook. From his youth upward he had been against the Church—witness his venomous attacks on Pius X. and Benedict XV.; he had been against Christ—witness his blasphemous article, "Jesus, the Sinner," in *Lacerba*, another Florentine magazine of which he was editor from 1913 to 1915; he had been against God—witness his appalling atheistic pamphlet, "The Memoirs of God," written in 1912, to attempt to prove that, since the idea of God is merely a product of the brain of man, we ourselves are God's creators and not He our Creator.

And yet, by a miracle of Divine Grace, this persecutor of Christians is to-day a practising and militant Catholic. What, humanly speaking, it would have seemed not so many years ago sheer folly to predict is now an actual fact. What was at the bottom of his astounding change of mental attitude?

If, as Papini states himself, it was through hatred that he learned eventually to love most passionately the figure of Christ, the hatred to which he refers was certainly not that of an apostate. Never at any time had he turned his back with scorn on Christianity, for the simple reason that he had never been brought up in it.

His childhood, over which poverty and ill-health had cast their shadow, had been a singularly unhappy one. He was born in Florence in 1881, and has drawn a heartrending picture

of his hopeless misery as a boy in the opening pages of "Un uomo finito" (A Finished Man, 1912).

When reading this pathetic piece of autobiography, one's thoughts naturally revert to the melancholy description of his own boyhood, given us by Leopardi in one of his best-known shorter poems, "Il passero solitario," or "The Lonely Sparrow."

The laughter and the sport
I care not for; I know not why;
But from them ever distant fly:
Here in my native place,
As if of alien race,
My spring of life I like a hermit pass.¹

A comparison between the boyhood of Papini and Leopardi is not without interest. Like Leopardi, Papini was sickly, unattractive in appearance, and unpopular amongst his fellows. He too, like Leopardi, was devoured by a passion for knowledge, and early sought refuge from a dreary and hostile world in books—books of every description, dealing with history, philosophy, science, poetry, everything he could lay his hands on. And as the years went by he, too, grew up to be a pessimist, a misanthrope, an enemy of all forms of established belief.

In the biblical account of the creation we find the following statement: "*videtque Deus cuncta quæ fecerat; et erant valde bona.*" Those who believe in a godless universe are not as a rule of this opinion. They almost invariably find the world a sorry place. Papini undoubtedly passed through as extreme a phase of atheistic pessimism as did ever Leopardi. But he got beyond it. He conquered it, and reached at last the safe haven of the Catholic Church.

His conversion may have been the easier from the fact that, unlike Leopardi, who had a Catholic training, he never went back on the faith of his childhood. As a boy he received absolutely no religious instruction of any kind. To quote his own words, written previous to his conversion: "belief in God *never at any time died within me*, for I never possessed it."

Of his long and anxious search for truth there can be no possible doubt. His one great object in life had always been to discover a truly satisfactory answer to the great riddle of the universe. That he found insufficient for this purpose the theories advanced by Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Auguste Comte may be learned from the pages of the first book which he published in 1906, "The Twilight of the Philosophers."

¹ Translation of Frederick Townsend.

In 1907 the *Leonardo*, the monthly magazine of which he had been editor since 1903, came to an end. In 1908 a new monthly, *La Voce* (The Voice), was started in Florence by his bosom friend Prezzolini. It lasted till 1915, Papini continuing all the time to be one of its most valued contributors. Two other monthly magazines, *L'Anima* and *Lacerba*, were run by him about this time, the first from 1911 to 1912 in conjunction with Amendola, the second with the help of a Florentine, named Soffici, from 1913 to 1915. He had brought out in the meantime three volumes of short stories, "Tragedies of Everyday Life" (1906), "The Blind Pilot" (1907) and "Blood and Words" (1912). Their contents are sufficiently indicated by their titles.

In all his writings, though, one constant aim is ever apparent, that of striving to get to the bottom of whatever subject he tackled. He never shirked the hard, unwelcome truth. "Say outright what you mean" was always his advice to younger writers. Get rid of prejudices and preconceived notions, and consider the world afresh with an unbiased and critical eye.

And so in time he came to be known as the "enfant terrible" of contemporary Italian literature, a rebel against the intellectual world of his day, pugnacious, vehement, exasperated, always ready to assault, kick, cuff, and tear limb from limb the idols of contemporary thought. Critics likened his fiery temper to that of Pietro Aretino in the sixteenth century, his cutting sarcasm to that of Barette in the eighteenth, his hatred of Christianity to the brutal anti-clericalism of Carducci in the nineteenth. Lashed into fury, because he found the world not as it should be, he seemed bent on leaving ruin everywhere in his track. One by one he attacked "the doctors," "the fathers" of modern philosophic thought; he attacked religion in his articles in *Lacerba*; above all he attacked with unabated fury what he deemed to be a superstitious and excessive cult of the past. "Death to the dead!" was the sensational heading of one of his articles in *Lacerba*. Modern Italians, he held, should cease to live simply by exploiting the glories of past ages. Let us burn our dusty libraries and antiquated museums and concentrate our energies on *creating something new*!

Towards religion Papini was never indifferent. The religious problem was, perhaps unconsciously, always at the back of his mind. It was the maddening fact that *he could not believe* that provoked his furious onslaughts on Christianity. For a short

time he seemed to draw near to the small band of Italian modernists captained by Buonaiuti, Minocchi and Romolo Murri. He even went so far as to contribute articles to the *Rinnovamento* and the *Cultura Contemporanea*, the two chief modernist reviews at that time in Italy. But this connection did not last for long. 'Ere ever the modernists were officially condemned in Rome, Papini was already assailing them in the columns of the press. When that dread hour struck Casati, Gallarati Scotti—the editor of the *Rinnovamento*—and others made an edifying act of complete submission to the dictates of the Holy See. Murri and Minocchi left the Church. Buonaiuti . . . but the recent, tragic downfall of Ernesto Buonaiuti is too fresh in the minds of those who follow closely the trend of ecclesiastical affairs in Italy to require comment.

Looking back on past events after a lapse of some years, it seems to the present writer that Papini had in him always, even at the most godless period of his career—that immediately following the severance of his connection with the modernists—some of those qualities which go to make an apostle. He had always felt from the outset that the world was all wrong, and that it was his duty to set it right, a conviction which remained with him throughout the various stages of his career. But if he felt he had a mission to the world it was one in which the personal "ego" occupied as yet too large a place. He was handicapped all along by an undisguised contempt for his fellow creatures. It was his besetting sin of pride—satanic pride which kept him outside the doors of the Church. He had yet to learn to love mankind and to cease to think only what abject fools other people were.

The accent of sincerity is nevertheless unmistakable in the account given in "Un uomo finito" of his fruitless, unending quest for truth. "I humbly beg and beseech . . . for a grain of certitude, for an atom of truth. From early childhood this has been the only object of my existence. I have knocked at every door, questioned every eye, asked from every mouth, fathomed the secrets of a thousand and ten thousand hearts . . . in vain. No one has ever answered me in such a manner as to quench within me all desire and all need to ask again. Every effort on my part, every struggle, every endeavour has not been useless. Many barriers have been broken through, many walls have collapsed and fallen, some like soft sand which gradually yields to constant pressure, others with a loud report like a pistol shot, as though a new world of thought

were bursting out from the old. But behind every barrier was an empty void, behind every wall darkness, and the echo of those strange spaces was so singular in its nature that to every hopeless 'yes' it gave back a tired and endless 'no.' "

A considerable sensation—and not a little displeasure in anti-Catholic spheres of action—was caused all over Italy by the unexpected appearance of "The Life of Christ." Into the question as to whether Papini is, or is not, a "convert," in the commonly accepted sense of the term,—one who has replaced a false or inadequate form of belief by the truth—it would be futile to enter here. That he now adheres completely to the dogma and teaching of the Catholic Church is beyond discussion, and this, after all, is the point that matters.

Since the publication of his "Life of Christ" he has been connected with *La Festa*, an illustrated Catholic weekly with a large circulation all over Italy, started in 1923 by the Opera Cardinal Ferrari in Milan. In 1923 he brought out, with the help of Giuliotti (another convert), the "Dizionario dell'omo salvatico," or "Wild Man's Dictionary"; in 1926 he published his fourth volume of verse, "Bread and Wine."

The "Dizionario dell'omo salvatico" attracted a good deal of attention. This curious work, half dictionary, half encyclopædia, only got, as a matter of fact, as far as the first two letters of the alphabet, and was then discontinued. On a very much smaller scale it aimed at being a counter-blast to the famous "Encyclopédie" of the eighteenth century French philosophers. It consists, in fact, of a violent denunciation of the evils of modern non-Catholic pseudo-civilization.

Papini is the last person in the world who can be accused of accepting Christianity—and Catholicity—with his eyes shut. He is as familiar with the so-called objections to Christian doctrine as the most "modern" and most "advanced" "intellectual." If he no longer holds that the world can get on very well without this "antiquated Jewish superstition," it is because he knows from personal experience just a little about what the world would be like without it.

His search for truth was genuine from the outset. He has deserved his reward. For men of good will the promise of Our Divine Lord was not made in vain: "Seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you."

H. B. L. HUGHES.

THE OPINIONS OF ANGLICANISM

I HAVE been wading through sheaves of newspaper cuttings concerning the fortunes of the revised or "composite" Prayer Book, which was presented by the Anglican Hierarchy for the consideration of their flocks on February 8th, with the intention of detailing the varieties of opinion to which the Book has given rise, and of drawing an obvious moral. But, finally faced by nearly fifty pages of printed comments, themselves only a bucket or two from the spate which still continues to flow, I must modify my plan and discuss only a few of the most typical. This intimate contact with the mind of Anglicanism, expressed by the Episcopate, the clergy, the religious societies, the laity, and, finally, by the secular press, has renewed one's astonishment at the strange mixture of earnestness, prejudice, ignorance, piety, want of logic, doubt, learning, and slavery to shibboleths that makes up the National Church. What has held it together during the three and a half centuries of its existence? It lost heavily by Wesley's defection, and by previous and subsequent secessions. Once nearly inclusive of the nation, it now counts two and a half million communicants out of a population of thirty-eight millions. It is still on the down-grade as regards numbers and influence, its decline much accelerated by the growing, disruptive forces of Modernism. There are those, nevertheless, who see in its survival, despite severe and recurrent internal crises, some innate principle of life, which proves it to be a real self-living organism. Others, more correctly, ascribe its continued cohesion to its legal position as a State institution. If it were disestablished, like the nonconformist sects around it, it would fall apart into at least three main divisions. However that may be, it can rarely have been in such peril as it is to-day, yet, strangely enough, the cause is on the surface a trivial and inadequate one, providing no sufficient reason for so grave a commotion.

Rightly considered, the revision of the Prayer Book is in itself a thoroughly justifiable proceeding. When Pope Pius V., carrying out a decree of the Council of Trent, revised the Roman Missal and made its use practically universal, he was doing something of the same sort. Lately the Catholic Church

with the assistance of its entire episcopate, examined, modified and corrected its whole code of Canon Law, which affects discipline and worship, abolishing canons that were obsolete, adapting others to modern needs, and adding whatever new ones were thought to be necessary. Yet so sane and prudent a course, although it involved vast changes in procedure, caused not a ripple of excitement amongst the children of the Church. On the other hand, when the Anglican authorities, expressly disclaiming any power or wish to alter doctrine, propose something of the same kind, proceeding under obedience of their Supreme Head and with all possible circumspection and deliberation, to make their regulations concerning public worship correspond better with modern realities, their whole communion is stirred to the depths, and a measure intended to put down disorder seems more than likely to increase it. Are we to think that non-Catholics are more concerned about their modes of worship than Catholics are? Few will suggest it, for the real reason of this difference lies in the fact that the Catholic Church, as her children know, has a divine commission to rule as well as teach, whereas the members of the English Church, clinging fast to their birthright of private judgment, recognize no such commission in those set over them.

Yet Anglican authorities in the past have not been remiss in asserting their rights to obedience. The original composition and the earlier revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, just as may the present Composite Book, took the form of Annexes to Acts of Parliament, and were imposed upon Anglicans under a variety of statutory penalties. As far as exterior force can secure uniformity, these various Books aimed at securing it, and the complaints in the Prefaces of the later ones show the measure of their failure. Notoriously the first attempt of the sort was intended to remove the "corruptions" of the Roman missal. "It is more profitable," wrote Cranmer and his friends in the first Preface, "because here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious."¹ And the revision of 1662 under Charles II. was set on foot because of discontent with the previous Book. "Great im-

¹ In "How Cranmer 'revised' the Sarum Missal," by C. Tigar, S.J. (*THE MONTH*, June, 1923) may be read a succinct account of the partial (1547) and, finally, complete (1552) exclusion of the idea of Sacrifice and the Real Presence from the Prayer-books which Cranmer fashioned, read in the light of his intention.

portunities were used to His Sacred Majesty that the said Book might be revised and such alterations therein, and additions thereto, made as should be thought requisite for the ease of tender consciences." Nothing could be more straightforward than the declaration of the Caroline revisers—"Our general aim, therefore, in this undertaking was, not to gratify this or that party in any of their unreasonable demands: but to do that, which to our best understandings, might most tend to the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church. . . ." But not being able to say "Thus saith the Lord" but only "Thus saith Parliament," they are under no illusions as to the possible fate of their revision: "we know it impossible"—such are their pathetic words—" (in such variety of apprehensions, humours and interests, as are in the world) to please all: nor can expect that men of factious, peevish and perverse spirits, should be satisfied with anything that can be done in this kind by any other than themselves. Yet we have good hope."

Those hopes were entirely vain. The Prayer Book has never been able to create uniformity of worship in the Church of England, for all that the explicit and stringent directions, embodied in the various Acts imposing it, could do. And the reason is that it was really framed to be the expression, not of a single canon of belief, but of several: and that it was put into the hands of those who were taught to use the principle of private judgment as a right, those who recognized no final authority, no divine gift of teaching the truth infallibly, in those who issued it. And so it became what the Bible itself became in the hands of the sects,¹ a book whence everyone drew his own favourite doctrines, till only experience could tell what character of service might be found in any given Anglican Church. Things became fairly desperate at the beginning of the present century. As the years went on the bondage of the letter was more and more disregarded, especially by those who had come to see that the Reformation was a deadly mistake, and the complaints of the perplexed lay-folk became more vocal, till in 1904 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate "the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of divine service in the Church of England." On the Report of this Commission two years later, the Crown

¹ "Hic liber est in quo querit sua dogmata quisque;
Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua."

authorized the Houses of Convocation to set about revision of the Book, which was done with great thoroughness, though with many delays, for the space of fourteen years. In 1920 the resulting proposals were submitted to a Committee of the National Assembly, which had come into being in the previous year, whence after further discussion there emerged in 1923 a Revised Prayer Book Measure to be submitted to the Assembly as a whole. This body in its three Houses has debated the matter continuously with the result that the House of Bishops finally, on February 8th, produced before Convocation their best attempt to reconcile the various views and proposals put before them. Since then the draft Book has been criticized anew by Convocation, and the Bishops have just concluded their final considerations of the amendments suggested. The last stages of the process will be the voting of the National Assembly for acceptance or rejection on July 4th, and, last of all, the decision of Parliament, always the final arbiter in the affairs of the National Church, in the autumn.

No one can deny, as we have said, that the objects sought for in this Revision—peace and unity in the National Church, through a clearer expression of her religious views and an attempt to give to custom legal recognition,—are not excellent. Still less can one accuse the authorities concerned with secrecy or precipitancy in their proceedings. One would have thought, from the recent and current reclamations in press and from platform, that the proposed changes had never been previously heard of, whereas, at every step of the revision detailed above, the disputes were chronicled in the Anglican press and in secular newspapers, and even aroused a few echoes in these remote pages.¹ Books were published by the various parties, embodying their respective opinions; everyone knew what everyone else thought and wished and intended; yet when the Composite Book appeared, seemingly an honest endeavour to give a hearing and a *locus standi* to all parties, in fulfilment of the Royal Commission's recommendation "to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensive-ness of the Church of England and of its present needs,

¹ For instance, in "Anglican Prayer-Book Revision," by Father S. Smith (THE MONTH, August, 1917), a description is given of the lively discussions in the Joint Committee of the Canterbury Houses of Convocation, showing how, even then, the O.T. allusions to Fall and Redemption and miracles generally were felt to be difficulties by many.

seems to demand," it became the target of an endless stream of critical missiles, a selection of which, as I have indicated, I have laboriously made, and which I now propose briefly to discuss.

A common note, which runs through all that has been written or spoken for or against revision, is the implicit recognition of the right of private judgment in every member of the Anglican community. Protestantism remains true to its fundamental tenet, although those who claim this right for themselves are not, as we shall see, always ready to allow it to others. To start with, the changes are optional; *i.e.*, it is left to the discretion of the individual in private worship or, in public, of the incumbent, tempered by the Parochial Council, to adopt them or not, in whole or in part. They are proposed for voluntary "acceptance," and choice is to be guided—the words occur over and over again—by personal *views or opinions*. There is no pretence at declaring anything as certainly true: the authority of the "Church" as declared in the 20th Article is limited to deciding—again not infallibly—whether such and such a doctrine or belief is in harmony with God's word. The Note of fallibility, which is asserted (in Article XIX.) somewhat invidiously, of the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch, not to speak of the Church of Rome, assuredly belongs to Anglicanism as well.¹ Some optimists have hastily and without realizing the irreverent implications, sought to ascribe the responsibility for the Composite Book to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, but, in general and in practice, its entirely earthly origin is recognized. Let us illustrate this singular abdication of the teaching principle on the part of Anglicanism from the *dossier* of statements and comments and criticisms at hand.² In introducing the Book on February 7th, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:—

I ask you to realize that in this volume we indicate not what we believe that any section of Churchmen will regard as their ideal of an alternative book. No, but we give you the only kind of alternative book for which,

¹ "The Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen," reported in the *Morning Post* (Feb. 24th), expressly claim the Gift of Fallibility for their Church. "We believe that Churches may err, that the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome have erred. Our own Church may err. The test of truth is not to be found in the House of Bishops in Convocation or the National Church Assembly. The sixth Article is plain: Holy Scripture is our Rule of Faith."

² Italics ours in all extracts unless otherwise stated.

at the present juncture, we can anticipate *general acceptance*.

And, on the same occasion, his brother of York, pointing out the limitation on the discretion of the minister concerning the use of the innovations contained in the Prayer Book Measure, *sc.*,

changes authorized under this Measure in the customary arrangement and conduct of the services of the Church shall not be used arbitrarily or without the good will of the people as represented in the Parochial Church Councils,

added immediately:

It will, therefore, be *the duty* of clergy who desire to exercise the discretion given them by the Measure to consult their Parochial Church Councils as to the nature and extent of the changes which they *desire*. . . . In this way, fully recognized by the House of Clergy, the *interests of the laity* are safeguarded,

and towards the close of his speech used these significant words—

It is now for the Church, and *ultimately for the State*, to decide whether all this labour, now drawing to a close, shall receive its reward.

We see that the Archbishop does not try to disguise either the "congregational" character of Anglicanism or its dependence in ecclesiastical affairs on the State. Consequently none of the Bishops can be surprised that their flocks have, without waiting for the passing of the Measure, taken them at their word. Criticism has been vehement, and has not even spared their own good faith. Some 60 or 100 Evangelical (Low Protestant) clergymen have been touring the country, visiting all the chief towns and the Cathedral cities, and the burden of their complaints is that the Bishops are dishonest and not to be trusted. Here are some specimens of what they and their sympathizers have not scrupled to say—

To-day there is an attempt on the part of those within the Church to bring her back under the heel of Rome. There is another movement to make it a Unitarian

Church. Which is the greater of the two evils is hard to say—probably the Modernist is the worse.¹

Again—

It is the treachery from within and the subtlety of the whole thing that should rouse every Protestant. It hurts me to say it, but the time has come not to trust the Bishops, for they have shown themselves untrustworthy (loud applause).²

While we are anxious to pay a due respect to the Bishops and to render them a willing and ready obedience in all things lawful and honest, some of us find it difficult, if not impossible, to accept their assurances of good faith.³

Episcopal trickery and unworthy subterfuge have been adopted by the Bishops. . . . The plea that the present Prayer Book is to remain the standard is dishonest. It is a sham.⁴

But for the honour of Anglicanism this sort of vulgar abuse is entirely confined to the Low Protestant school, the inheritors, not only of the Elizabethan hatred of the Mass and fear of the Pope, but also of the intolerant Elizabethan style of controversy. Others may criticize what the Bishops have decided, but their language is uniformly courteous, and they generally acknowledge that their Lordships have made the best of what is really an impossible situation. I myself feel that the claim made by both Archbishops that nothing in the changes and additions alters the doctrine of the Church of England is substantially justified, for the simple reason that that teaching has never been sufficiently definite to rule out any of the various interpretations placed upon its formularies. Its authorities have always shrunk from any further definition of doctrine than that it is "what is set forth in the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer." Apparently the capacity to define truth with certainty was possessed by the Establishment when it began to exist—or why this constant appeal to these sources of doctrine as a standard?—but has deserted it since. Nor are things made any clearer by saying that these sources have to be under-

¹ Rev. R. G. F. Waddington, reported in *Yorkshire Observer Budget*, February 26th.

² Rev. F. W. Argyle, *ibid.*

³ Rev. G. E. Milner, *Morning Post*, March 7th.

⁴ Manifesto of the "League of Loyal Churchmen," *Morning Post*, Feb. 11th.

stood and interpreted by reference to Holy Scripture, which itself requires a competent interpreter. The appeal to a dead antiquity, the appeal to a dumb Book, like the appeal to ambiguous formularies, cannot blind us to the fact that Protestantism from one extreme to the other is based upon *aispeais*, i.e., heresy, a personal choice dictated by private interpretation. Bishop Gore, who says that the facts of revelation have finally to be determined by "historical science"¹ is as much a rationalist as Bishop Barnes, who subjects the contents of the faith to "scientific" approval or rejection. And hence, naturally enough, the ordinary Anglican equivalent for "I believe" is "I think," "this is my view," "thus I argue," "my feeling is," and so on: there seems never to be any expression of the intense conviction, the absolute certainty, which belongs to the supernatural act of faith. Anglicanism holds "opinions" only.

Yet this avowed absence of absolute certainty, common to all, is united, amongst some of the various "schools of thought," with a certain fierce intolerance of other opinions. Instead of the forbearance which consciousness of their own fallibility should engender, the Low Protestants evince a desire and a determination to crush all views save their own. Undoubtedly correct as they are in their estimate of what the Elizabethan founders of Anglicanism meant to do and did, they will not recognize any right in modern Anglicans to read other meanings into the ancient formularies, meanings which are claimed to have been latent there from the beginning, nor permit any development of doctrine. "One thing is plain," says Mr. Kensit, "Cranmer's Prayer Book is in process of being sacrificed on the Anglo-Catholic altar. . . . The vestments now to be allowed are the badge and symbol of priestly religion. . . . Our English reformers died that the Mass might be for ever excluded."² Another zealot is reported³ as follows:

When I was a youngster I used to hear a lot about the Jesuits and their under-hand work, but to-day there is no need for Jesuits: we have the Anglo-Catholics, who are allied to the Roman party and whose objective is union with Rome. . . . The Anglo-Catholics think that

¹ *Church Times*, March 12, 1926, p. 309.

² Reported in *Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 9th.

³ *Exeter Express*, March 1st.

the whole Reformation was a mistake and belittle it. It makes my blood boil.

Again, Captain J. W. D. Barron, Secretary of the Church Association declares:¹

The master question of the English Reformation undoubtedly was the substitution of the Lord's Supper for the sacrifice of the Mass. The changes which the Bishops propose will reverse this position.

Moreover, one of the members of the "Parsons' Pilgrimage" said at Bristol ²—"We are back on the old battle-field. The main question is: Is it merely bread and wine, or does it become the Body and Blood of Christ?"

But no one has been more dogmatic in declaring the authentic doctrine of the Church of England than Bishop Knox, who is the champion of the true Protestant tradition. Both during the present crisis and former ones, he has continued to press his point of view with clear and incisive logic. For instance—

For nearly half-a-century [others would go much further back] there have been within the Church of England teachers and followers of what are fundamentally two distinct religions. This situation has been recognized as scandalous by all who believe that a church ought to teach consistent truth in all matters essential to salvation. Prayer Book revision is an attempt to solve the difficulty by legitimizing this inconsistency. The two parties are invited to say to each other: *You may teach what I believe to be false, on condition that I may teach what you believe to be false.*³ [Italics in original.]

Nothing could be more true, granting first that Cranmer was infallible, and, secondly, that his doctrine regarding the Eucharist, as expressed in *Prayer Book and Articles*, is perfectly clear and unambiguous. With such assurance of God's truth behind him, the Bishop would be quite justified in launching anathemas at his opponents. But his denunciations and those of the Evangelicals generally are wholly out of place in an institution whose tenets are based on private judgment and which does not profess to teach with certainty.

¹ *Sheffield Telegraph*, February 8th.

² *Bristol Times*, March 2nd.

³ Letter to *Daily News*, June 12th.

The Bishop cannot have it both ways. There is only one Church that teaches or even professes to teach "consistent truths in all matters essential to salvation." If human reason is the final arbiter of truth, then common modesty and courtesy demand that one's opinions should be advanced without intransigence. What right has Bishop Knox, or anyone else, to say, on his own principles, that his view of the Elizabethan settlement is the only possible one? However, he is only committing what Hallam called "the original sin of all the reformed Churches" in thus displaying intolerance towards his fellow Anglicans. Anglicanism has always pretended to teach authoritatively whilst disclaiming infallibility, and to cloak her inability to define by a claim to comprehensiveness, a quality inconsistent with knowledge of the truth. The Thirty-Nine Articles, adopted by the whole English Church in 1562, are prefaced by a Royal Declaration, far more absolute and arbitrary than ever issued from Rome, in which the Monarch, in virtue of being "Supreme Governor of the Church of England," forbids any even the slightest departure "from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now established," and goes on to attempt what the Catholic Church is constantly and wrongly accused of doing, *sc.*, to put shackles on the human intellect, by prohibiting any dispute as to the meaning of the Articles which are to be taken in their "literal and grammatical sense." Again, we ask, why should any set of formularies which are man-made and mutable, with no more divine sanction behind them than have the rules of a club, be elevated to the status of a God-designed and unchanging standard of truth? They are the outcome of private judgment, and, surely, to private judgment they are essentially amenable.

It is more surprising still to find the Modernists—those who have carried private judgment to its furthest extreme and thrown off all but the shadow of Church authority, intolerant of dissent. But it is the Modernist Bishops of Durham and Birmingham, who are the fiercest against any departure from traditional Protestant usage, and the most insistent on disciplining the recalcitrant. Dean Inge¹ complains that "the weak point in the whole scheme is the absence of machinery for dealing with law-breakers."

It would be far better [he writes] if a disciplinary court

¹ Writing on the Anglo-Catholic "Wild Men" in the *Evening Standard*, Feb. 22nd.

could be established, under the collective authority of the Episcopate, to deal with all such offences.

But even in that scheme there would be a weak point, or several, for the Dean adds: "Some bishops are half in sympathy with the law-breakers: many others are afraid to quarrel with the English Church Union." Another advocate of discipline—for the other side—is the Rev. H. D. A. Major, who asks¹—

Have the Bishops the will, and are they united in a common policy for securing obedience to the Composite Book? It is not clear that this is so. The Church of England is rapidly becoming the main instrument in this country for training converts for the Church of Rome.

The "Anglo-Catholics" who depart as widely from historic Protestantism as the Modernists, but who have a much better appreciation of what faith means than any other party, are showing themselves extraordinarily moderate in this crisis. Their strength is considerable. One of their opponents states² that "Mass" is said daily in 242 London and 1,002 provincial churches, and that there is perpetual "Reservation" in 144 London churches, and 410 churches in the country, and that in all 2,190 churches in England practise "Roman ritual." But they already do so much more than the Composite Prayer Book allows that they are not elated by its "concessions." The *Church Times* has declared that if the restrictions on Reservation are maintained, "Anglo-Catholics" will not accept the Book, but there seems to be no organized resistance and no protest against the concessions to Modernism. In fact, there are indications that the endeavours to "Catholicize" the Protestant elements of the National Church are to be abandoned as hopeless, and another sort of *modus vivendi* is to be sought.

I am led to this surmise by an editorial in the current *Green Quarterly*, a periodical representing "Anglo-Catholicism" of an advanced but anti-Papal type. Despairing, as he well might, of any possibility of securing unity of belief in Anglicanism, and perhaps fearing the results of disruption, the Editor, who does not lack boldness, proposes the following novel solution of the difficulty.

¹ Quoted in *The Times*, March 9th.

² Mr. Fowler, Secretary of "The Protestant Alliance," in *Daily Sketch*, Feb. 11th.

It is a strange irony [he says] that the critics of the Church of England should describe as her weakness that which in reality is her strength. She is the only religious body in the world which is, in miniature, a League of religions. This seems to us to be a priceless asset, especially at the present moment.

And he goes on to dilate upon the advantages resulting from this "happy-family" arrangement, wherein the various Anglican groups are learning to be tolerant rather than controversial towards each other, so that "their association forms an admirable, corrective, mutual influence." Now, of all the surprises which the mentality of "Anglo-Catholicism" has sprung upon us, or has yet in store, this surely must be the most startling. The Editor is really serious: he elaborates his idea in a number of paragraphs. "The Prayer Book, old or new, becomes the common basis, as to which there must be complete liberty to supplement or to omit, in a Catholic, Protestant *and* a Liberal direction." Those won't like it "who persist in regarding the English Church as a single entity, rather than as a Communion of religious groups." It is "a conception fatal to the future of the Church of England" to imagine "a single, uniform, Anglican doctrinal standard and form of worship." Keeping the old or new Prayer Book as a common basis (or should we not say, two?), he would have the "Anglo-Catholics" draw up "a full and comprehensive Catholic order, full enough to be acceptable to all grades of Anglo-Catholic development, and comprehensive enough to include English, Roman, and any other "uses." Not to oppose or supplant the "common basis"—oh, no! Merely to be an "appendix" to the old or new Prayer Book, "based strictly upon their directions."

I confess myself bewildered, both by this *volte-face* in itself and by its details. Presumably the Evangelicals and Modernists would be equally at liberty to draw up their own "full and comprehensive orders," and, having perfect freedom "to omit or supplement," their appendixes to the "common basis" might be trusted to vary widely from that of the "Anglo-Catholics." But how could Catholic, Protestant and Unitarian Orders be produced, all "strictly based upon the directions" of the one Book? And what would be the sense of having a Common Prayer Book printed and using only its Appendix? The more the idea is pondered,

the more fantastic it appears. But, of course, its main significance lies in its entirely abandoning the Note of Unity hitherto considered to be an essential mark of the Church of Christ. Catholic apologists have, indeed, had little difficulty in showing that the absence of this essential Note destroys the claim of the Church of England to be in any sense the perpetuation of the institution founded by our Lord. And now our adversary throws up the sponge altogether. There is not, and need not be, "a single, uniform, Anglican, doctrinal standard," and, since Anglicanism is supposed not to have broken off from Catholicity, it follows that unity of belief and doctrine is not an essential note of the Church of Christ. "The suggestion we have made," says the Editor, "needs courage and a generous outlook." He has been, indeed, bold and generous, for he has faced the facts of unbridgeable divergences of doctrine which so many shut their eyes to, and, again, as a claimant to membership of Christ's Church, he has given away his whole case. He probably did not remember that his proposition had been anticipated sixty years ago by that latitudinarian divine, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who declared in the House of Lords (1867)—"The Church of England is not a Church of compromise, but of comprehension: she contains in her bosom men of every opinion, from those who deny absolutely her first principles to those who uphold the doctrines of the Church of Rome which she has expressly condemned." Thus do extremes very wonderfully meet.

It would seem, then, that the Evangelicals are the only group that would fain have the English Church homogeneous in doctrine and practice. All the modern Bishops follow Bishop Wilberforce in stressing, in one way or another, its "comprehensiveness" and "elasticity," although they try to evade the obvious implications of those singular notes. Bishop Heywood of Southwell, for instance, says—"Manifestly the Church of England is willing to receive within her fold men and women whose opinions differ upon forms of service and ceremonial," but he adds, without any warrant in fact,—"*while they all accept the greater and more fundamental truths upon which she insists.*"¹ It has been shown by successive judgments of the Privy Council that she *cannot* insist, for instance, upon the truth of baptismal regenera-

¹ Quoted in *The Times*, Feb. 5th.

tion, of the Real Presence, of eternal punishment, of Biblical inspiration. And, as a matter of fact, judging by the heretics she tolerates amongst her clergy, she *does* not insist on the truth of our Lord's Godhead, or of the institutional Church. Why, then, do her leaders so often say of her teaching-powers what is so demonstrably incorrect? Others, faced by the same difficulty, have invented the theory that the truth is so vast that we can see only portions at a time, and on the strength of this loose metaphor they explain the contradictory tenets that flourish amongst them. Thus Bishop Strong of Oxford says that English compromise does not mean abandoning truths sincerely held, but rather—"A works with B not because he is ready to sacrifice here and there some fragment of truth as he sees it, but because A sees that the truth he has grasped will never be complete without the truth that B has grasped."¹ It is pitiable to witness intelligent men forced into subterfuges like this through the exigencies of an illogical assumption. How on earth can A see that B's contribution is necessary to complete *his* truth, unless he first sees that B's view is also true? Another prelate, Bishop Chevasse is the only writer who explicitly recognizes that *lex orandi* implies *lex credendi*, but even he must pay court to comprehensiveness by saying—"The Church of England allows a wide variety of opinions, begotten of differences of temperament, environment and education."² Bishop Pollock of Norwich, the only diocesan who refused to take any responsibility for the Revision, asserts³ that "the Church of England does not give definitions on the Sacrament of the Holy Communion nor urge special theories," but then he straightway denies this cautious nescience by adding—"But she protects her children from the error of identifying the living Christ with the consecrated bread and wine isolated from the service." She teaches, at any rate, the Real Absence. The Bishop of Southwell⁴ justifies "differences of opinion and of emphasis" on the quaint ground that, unless people disagree they cannot unite; being, I presume, already one. Bishop Woods of Winchester, who looks forward to another revision in five or twenty-five years, returns to the "facets of truth" metaphor. "The English Church,

¹ Reported in *The Times*, March 10th. ² Letter in *The Times*, Feb. 24th.

³ Sermon reported on Feb. 13th. Bishop Temple of Manchester has since (*The Times*, March 18th) made the same claim with the same strange exception.

⁴ *Morning Post*, March 7th.

and therefore the English Prayer Book, holds fast the Truth, but must provide for many angles of vision. Therefore, what you highly approve in the new proposals, your neighbour may highly disapprove. But we cannot all see all the Truth all at once."¹ These eminent men are driven to strange lengths in order to justify "comprehensiveness" and still retain some sort of a teaching character for their Church. It never seems to occur to them that truth is sometimes quite simple: that there are such things as direct contradictories,—for instance, that Christ is God or is not God, that sanctifying grace is given or not given in Baptism, that the God-man is objectively present or not under the appearance of the consecrated elements. There are only two "angles of vision" by which such questions as these can be regarded, and one of them is true and the other false. Because the English Church cannot tell the false from the true, its doctrine "comprehends" both.

My final impression, from this wide and wearisome study of Prayer Book explanations and criticisms, may be courteously voiced in the words of the Bishop of Cashel to the *Morning Post* (March 7th)—"The present condition of the splendid old Church of England is bewildering." But I should add that it always has been, and always will be, bewildering, for its doctrines are in practice dictated by its members, and their "opinions" vary with the individual.

JOSEPH KEATING.

¹ Reported in *The Times*, Feb. 2nd.

MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

ST. PAUL'S RETREAT.

(*Gal. i. 17-18*).

THIS is an attempt to solve a problem in St. Paul's life about which no satisfactory judgment has yet been given. This suggestion may be as unsatisfactory as others: but it is so deep a conviction in its main point, held for so many years, that I may be excused for stressing it.

The question arises out of a fact which is, I think, rather amazing. In the whole of St. Paul's extant writings, covering many years, there is no direct mention of Mary, the Mother of Jesus. Her existence is implied, and of course must be, for the engrossing topic of the Apostle is the Incarnation. It is when writing about the Son of God made Man that he is really "on fire." One has only to read the glowing outburst of personal love in the Epistle to the Romans (viii. 37, etc.) or the splendid description of Our Lord's High Priesthood and Godhead in that to the Hebrews (i.—x.), to be struck by that unforgettable theme which he approaches in his writings from every angle of light. Yet never does a direct mention of Our Lady fall from his pen. Of course the same may be said of all the Apostles, but their writings were limited to special points, whereas St. Paul's cover the whole field of Christian Doctrine, which he had learnt, as he tells the Galatians, from Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. This silence is amazing, yet, personally, one has not heard of the subject being broached and explained. Can it be possible he had no chance to meet the Mother of God?—for it is quite unthinkable he did not care to do so. As we know, St. Luke went to her, and, as a consequence, his Gospel is enriched by the wonderful story of Christ's childhood.

Perhaps one may thus explain a silence which was no doubt very deliberately intended. After the marvels of Pentecost Our Lady and the other Holy Women utterly disappeared. In the Acts of the Apostles, as well as the Epistles, there is a total eclipse of these shining personalities. The reasons seem to lie on the surface. The unique and awe-inspiring position of the Virgin Mother of God called for an inexpressible delicacy in her regard, all the more so after the inrush of those convert thousands who knew Her Son was God risen in the Flesh. Notoriety would have been torture. A Catholic mind appreciates at once the swift, loving delicacy with which Her Son sheltered Her from public notice. What may be a stumbling-block to unfaith and

worldly vulgarity is most easily understood by the Catholic spirit. Perhaps a parallel to this may be suggested from a book, by an author now deceased, Mr. Venn's "Life of St. Francis Xavier." The Saint wrote one year to St. Ignatius that he had nothing particular to record. Mr. Venn thereby catches him fibbing. Nothing to say in the year in which he had been granted the gift of tongues! It is hobnailed trudging of this kind through the supernatural that often makes Catholics open their eyes at non-Catholic "Lives of the Saints." But it shows the point.

Indeed, very soon after her sweet Dormition and glorious Assumption her honour expanded like a growing day, as Cardinal Newman has shown, in his answer to Dr. Pusey, setting her out as the Second Eve of St. Paul's second Adam. It was chiefly from the Council of Ephesus that "the glory grew." The bitter attacks on Her and Her Son produced clearly the necessary implications of the Faith, and henceforth the manifestations of belief in her beneficence shone in every land, with the advance of the Kingdom of God. Nor has it nearly reached its zenith, even in these days of Lourdes. It is growing to the culmination of the last days, when the ancient history of Paradise shall come to fulfilment.

The Bible has many writers but one Author. It is all one inspiration, and in its books therefore are abysses calling to each other, echoes answering echoes, "I will put enmities between thee and the woman . . . she shall crush thy head." So says the first book, more than twenty centuries before St. John wrote: "A great sign appeared in the Heavens, a woman clothed with the Sun, and the Moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." Through her, salvation was promised and begun: she too will be the sign of its consummation: for she is the field of the Incarnation.

Is it possible St. Paul did not know all this, and went away to the wide world without a blessing from her? Is there not rather a possibility—we shall not now know more—of a time and place in which they met?

We glean from his life that, in the rough, he was "three years" in Arabia—a period, perhaps, like the three days before the Resurrection, consisting of a year and part of the previous and subsequent years; and it is generally agreed that a silent time of thought and prayer was its object. At all events, it is the only leisure-time in his missionary career we can find, except his years in prison!

It may be permitted me to cherish the thought that he spent some time during this Arabian sojourn at the heart of the Great Mystery itself.

First of all, let us think of this Arabia. The word has oddly caused a misconception in the minds of many who have been led

to think only of that immense territory east of Egypt—perhaps because the Saint speaks, once again, of "Mount Sinai in Arabia," whose slavery Jerusalem had inherited, in contradistinction to the franchise and liberties of the Kingdom of Christ. As a fact, Damascus, to the north-east of Palestine, was the chief town of a district which at times was ruled by Arabians and counted part of that land (as it is now in the minds of King Feisal's followers). Aretas of Damascus was "King of the Arabians" (2 Mach. v. 2), and thus when Paul fled from the city he need not have gone back to the hostile Jerusalem (as he must have done if he wanted to reach Mount Sinai) but may have passed east into that historic land, limited by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and generally held to be the seat of the Magian worship driven from Persia across the rivers. Does this bring him near the Mother of God?

At Jerusalem the Church was scattered. The persecution (some *three years* long) "made havoc" among the faithful, and was unusual in dragging women as well as men to gaol. St. John had a vast responsibility, having at the foot of the Cross taken the Mother of Christ "to his own." How could he leave her in danger of such outrage? An asylum must have been found for her and the holy women. For when the three years were over and Paul went to Jerusalem "to see Peter," *St. John had gone*; the only one left with Peter was the Bishop of the City, "James, the brother of the Lord." It is dangerous to be apocalyptic but it seems to me that St. John drops a hint of what occurred, for imagery must have foundation in fact. And so writing of the war of Satan, the murderous enemy of the Woman's man-child, he says: "And there was given to the Woman two wings of a *great eagle* that she might fly into the desert unto her place—a thousand, two hundred and sixty days."

It was many years later that St. Paul found St. John in Jerusalem, "one of the pillars of the Church." By then peace had come to the Church, and the falling asleep and Assumption of Mary, the Mother of Jesus.

In all this surmizing, we must never forget the almost bated breath with which the Apostles speak of each other—which emphasizes many silences. They veil the names, the homes, the cities even where the Apostles might be found. We are aware too of St. Paul's precautions about his letters. It was a matter of life and death. Hence, in the tempestuous march of the Faith, their most precious personality, the chief legacy of the dying Lord to the world, was also the most clouded.

Perhaps some odd gleanings may be added to what is written.

Is there a possibility of putting a finger on any spot in the Arabian waste which may have served as a shelter for the Blessed Virgin and a meeting-place with St. Paul? I am unable to

quote more than some few writers who incorporate a simple statement that dates only from the seventeenth century. It is mentioned by Tillemont and Dom Ceillier and quoted in the *Petits Bollandistes* on St. John, that, when the Fathers of the Society of Jesus went to Basra, at the mouth of the Euphrates, the local folk persisted in the tradition that St. John the Evangelist had been their Apostle. And whence comes the well-known statement of St. Augustine that the first Epistle of St. John was inscribed to the "Parthians"? They are placed by Pliny on the borders of the Roman world in Mesopotamia. Some say it was a misprint and give a clumsy substitute: if not, it has a grave import, for the time of St. John's absence may have been spent where the Magi lived—and were perhaps still living!!

Yet another possibility. St. Luke, the friend of Our Lady, was St. Paul's Gospeller. They met later at Antioch: but it is curious that he alone knows, as the Gospel shows, the intimate delicacies and personal touches which form a glorious "corona" of the great shining mystery of the Incarnation. Is it not a possibility (all I say is no more than that), that Mary's gracious presence may have cemented the friendship between the two missionaries of her Son, Paul and Luke—the valiant soldier of Christ and that "dear physician," who in later years and at many a camp fire wrote the Acts of the Apostles—the Commentaries of the spiritual Cæsar?

One has long thought over a scene which may not be as imaginary as many might fancy. In one of those early morning gatherings of Christians recorded by Pliny, there are huddled together a number of poor women closely veiled, and in the midst of them one more secluded still. There is also an adorer whose face is furrowed not only by the moral earthquake recently undergone, but by the cold reception of his newly-formed brethren (Acts ix. 25) and the hair-breadth escape from Damascus, but now welcomed by a greater consoler than Barnabas. The scene is set for worship. The Evangelist St. John utters the mystic words of consecration in the presence of the great Mother whose flesh and blood are so strangely to unify all believers in Christ Our Lord. The great story of Calvary is again "shown forth" and the Apostolic heart is stirred deeper still by that "driving love," always the secret mainspring and inspiration of the Warrior of God. "The Very God! think, Abib: dost thou think?"

✠ JOHN, BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH.

THE SPREAD OF DIVORCE.

IT is not yet quite fifty years since Pope Leo XIII. in one of the earliest of his great encyclicals, "*Arcanum Divinae*," drew a striking picture of the consequences which must inevitably follow upon the rejection in principle of the indissolubility of the marriage bond.

If the matter [he wrote] be duly pondered, we shall clearly see these evils to be the more especially dangerous, because, divorce once being tolerated, there will be no restraint powerful enough to keep it within the limits fixed or foreseen. Great is the force of example and the violence of passion even greater. With such incitements it must needs follow that the eagerness for divorce, daily spreading by devious ways will seize upon the minds of many like a virulent, contagious disease, or like a flood of water bursting through every barrier.

Already before the great European War broke out, this forecast had been only too completely justified. As we may learn from the first edition of that useful book, Mulhall's "*Dictionary of Statistics*," the condition of affairs in 1880 when Pope Leo wrote was not so very startling. For each million of inhabitants there were in the United States 360 divorces, in Denmark 202, in Germany 130, in France 71, in England 15. But soon a rapid increase made itself felt. France just before the War, with a population of about 40 millions, registered some 16,000 divorces annually, that is to say, about 400 per million inhabitants. Germany was not much behind with rather less than 300 divorces per million. America far outstripped all others with nearly 1,110 per million, while England still had less than 18. It would be useless to give details for the smaller countries, but in every one there had been a notable increase. Then came the great European conflict and the subsequent social and economic upheaval. Probably these influences were felt less in the United States than anywhere else, but the divorce figures have continued steadily to climb. The ratio of increase in population has been considerable, but the ratio of increase in divorces has far exceeded it. The number of these granted throughout the Union in 1916, the year before America came into the War, was 112,236. The total is now half as great again. There were 165,096 divorces in 1923; 170,867 in 1924, and 175,495 in 1925. Speaking roughly, the figures show that at present in the U.S.A. there is one divorce for every six or seven marriages, and this perhaps is the form which brings the prevalence of the evil most forcibly before the popular mind. Of course in

certain States of the Union things are much worse than in others. Oregon has one divorce for every 2.3 marriages, Wyoming has one for every 3.7 marriages, and even in Missouri there is one divorce for every 4.3 marriages. In Nevada, the most inconsiderable of all in point of population, the divorces in 1923 actually outnumbered the marriages. Along the eastern coast, however, the situation is not quite so alarming. For example, in Massachusetts the divorces as compared with the marriages are about one in ten, and in New York less than one in twenty. Moreover it must be remembered that these differences are largely accounted for by the fact that as it is much easier to get married (*i.e.*, a less period of residence is required and so forth) in some States than in others, and as on the other hand some States grant decrees of divorce on much laxer conditions than others, there is a great resort from outside for either purpose to those centres where special facilities can be counted on beforehand.

Turning to Germany, the latest issue of the official "Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich," published in August, 1926, supplies no divorce statistics for any year subsequent to 1924. As compared, however, with pre-War figures the increase is enormous. The total is now almost double of what it was in 1913 and more than treble of what it was at the beginning of the present century. In 1921 there were 39,216 German divorces, and though this was perhaps exceptional, the number recorded for 1924 was 35,936, which represents one divorce for every thirteen marriages. Germany has now a population of a little over 60,000,000; France, with Alsace and Lorraine, a little over 40,000,000. Allowing for this disproportion, the divorce position in the two countries is in general much the same, but it should be mentioned that while the French figures were very high immediately after the War (there were 32,557 divorces in 1921), there has been a notable diminution in more recent years. Still the number in 1925, which was 20,002, represents a considerable increase over anything recorded before 1914.

In eastern central Europe things are as bad as they can well be. In Austria, which since its dismemberment has a smaller population than either Belgium, Holland, or Greater London, there has been of late years an average of 5,500 divorces per annum, which gives a ratio which is only exceeded by the United States and Japan. Seeing that before the War divorce was not conceded in Austria to any but non-Catholics, the outlook is most alarming, the more so that there is no sign of any diminution in the figures. In Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, and even in Hungary the position is not much better.

Of all the greater countries which admit divorce, England

and Wales, we are glad to say, so far shows the most respect for the sanctity of marriage; but it is perhaps worth while to point out that the figures which one sometimes sees quoted in this connection are apt to lend themselves to a certain confusion and misunderstanding.¹ The number of suits brought into court is, of course, by no means the same as the number of decrees nisi which are granted after trial; neither are the figures of the decrees nisi quite identical with those which are made absolute. Moreover it has to be remembered that there are also a certain proportion of marriages which are dissolved by an annulment in the civil courts. In the year 1922, for example, there were 84 decrees nisi for nullity of marriage of which 67 were issued on the ground of impotence, and 17 for informality or invalidity in the solemnization of the nuptials. Following, however, the practice of the Registrar General, who takes account only of the decrees of divorce or nullity made absolute during the twelve months specified, we get the following figures. In the year 1921, so far a record year, there were in England and Wales 3,522 marriages dissolved either by divorce or annulment; in 1922 there were 2,588; in 1923, 2,667; and in 1924, the last year for which figures are available, there were 2,286. Although these statistics present an agreeable contrast to most of those recorded in foreign countries, it is much to be feared that we have not yet experienced the full effects of the legislation of 1923 facilitating divorce and of the subsequent measures making it possible to settle such cases at the assizes. The latest figures are only of 1924 and, as everyone knows, an interval elapses before the decrees nisi can be made absolute.² On the other hand as compared with 1913 the number of divorces in England has grown by 300 per cent.

It has sometimes been contended that the eagerness for divorce is largely due to the inadequacy of the legislation which controls it, and that if sensible laws were framed which aimed at effecting reconciliation as well as granting release, the multiplication of such suits would soon receive a check, and that we should settle down to a fair average of hopeless cases in which no remedy was possible but a dissolution of the bond. Scandinavia is supposed to possess such a divorce law, which was formulated after much discussion among the legal experts of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Has this remedy, one is tempted to ask, proved effectual in staying the upward trend of the divorce figures? The

¹ Another source of confusion is the fact that in the "Registrar General's Statistical Review" the totals given are those of the number of *persons* whose marriage is dissolved. Each divorce, of course, releases two persons.

² It is, however, consoling to find from the "Civil Judicial Statistics" for 1925 that the divorce decrees nisi granted in that year numbered only 2,657, and the nullity decrees nisi 58. So far this shows no great increase.

Swedish "Statistisk Årsbok" for 1926 supplies details which are of some interest in this connection:—

Year	No. of Divorces	No. of Marriages	Ratio per cent of Divorces to Marriages
1919	1,204	40,289	2.90
1920	1,325	42,918	3.06
1921	1,444	39,550	3.6
1922	1,473	36,656	4.01
1923	1,531	37,654	4.06
1924	1,634	37,484	4.3
1925	1,748	37,231	4.68

Sweden has been in the enjoyment of its excellent (?) divorce laws for more than ten years, also it is not a thickly populated country, and as a neutral it was not convulsed by the shock of war. Nevertheless we find that in this short interval its divorces, instead of diminishing, have grown by nearly 50 per cent. Perhaps the most striking feature of all is the unrelenting steadiness in the advance of the figures.

H.T.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH

Dealings with Russia.

It is notorious that the ostracism of Russia from the councils of Europe is more responsible than any other single cause for delaying that general and simultaneous reduction of armaments which was looked for as one of the chief compensations for the appalling sacrifices of the Great War. We are far from saying that Europe is chiefly to blame for this outlawry of the Soviets. No Christian can look upon their methods of government with anything but the profoundest abhorrence. They are atheist in their ideals and diabolic in their practice. But there it is, this Bolshevik Government, seated in the place of power, and to all appearance permanently: it cannot be dislodged by force. The disastrous and, as the event proved, ill-advised attempt to do so at the end of the war, cost this country one hundred million pounds, and only consolidated the Bolshevik power. It remains a fact to be reckoned with, and will remain until the Russian people themselves replace it by something more normal. Meanwhile the peace of Europe cannot wait, the burden of armaments must be lifted, the League of Nations must be strengthened, the fear of aggression must be, as far as possible, removed, the threat of war as an instrument of policy banished from diplomacy. All this points to a renewal of political inter-

course with the only Power which is formally opposed to the League ideal. Economic intercourse already exists, at least with European States. If only as a means to the mitigation of Bolshevism and thus to its ultimate overthrow, complete diplomatic intercourse should follow. Treated practically as outlaws, the Bolsheviks will act as outlaws; brought into constant contact with the statesmen of other nations, it will be hard for them to maintain their subversive views. Their resumption of economic dealings on the basis of the existing capitalistic system shows that they are capable of recognizing hard facts which oppose their theories. The same effect may follow their contact with European international law. It is easy to make out a case for continued and more complete ostracism, but such treatment, however gratifying to our sense of justice, would only accentuate the evils we deplore and defer their remedy indefinitely. On their assumption that they are a lawful Government the Soviets naturally claim as much freedom in pointing out the defects of other Governments as their opponents exercise in denouncing theirs. Mutual objurgation, however, is not the way to that solid European peace which is the prime necessity of our day. Mutual intercourse, with a view to the conversion of those misguided politicians to the Christian basis of our civilization, conveys at least some prospect of success.

**Russia
and
Disarmament.**

The Russian menace, arising from the maintenance of a huge standing army in that country and an incessant preoccupation with the idea of war, provides European statesmen with a ready excuse for postponing the abolition of competitive armaments, which the recovery of Europe demands. It is easy to plead insecurity, when these vast forces remain at the disposal of a Government professedly hostile to all others as representing capitalist States. Yet the plea in most cases is unsound. A glance at the map will show that only two States who could defend themselves by arms, viz., Poland and Rumania, have Russian frontiers. Finland and the Baltic States derive their security not from their own strength but from the implicit guarantee of the rest of Europe. Russia, intractable though it is, dare not invade those weak communities. That guarantee could be explicitly extended within the League to Poland and Rumania. However powerful the Soviet armies may be, they cannot ruffle the security of the other European States, simply because the latter are out of their reach. Accordingly, as far as fear of Russia is concerned, there is nothing to prevent the other States of Europe from reducing their armaments to the German scale—the standard fixed by the Versailles Treaty,—for their reduced forces in combination would still be powerful

enough to check Russian aggression. Besides, there is an economic limit to Russia's military and naval strength. It has no money to pay for or maintain large armaments: it could not be as strong on land as it is without the help of the European armament firms. It can never develop a formidable navy without the same help. What then is simpler than that each Government should absolutely forbid its nationals to sell armaments to Russia? Nothing could be, were it not for the seemingly unrelaxable grip of private financial interests.

**Private
Armament
Firms.**

Here we are faced once more with what is at once the strongest and most subtle of all the obstacles to the world's peace, one which statesmen seem afraid to deal with and about which the commercial press is generally silent. Can we ever have a serious effort to reduce armaments whilst the financial prosperity of many in all the chief nations depends on their continued or increased manufacture? Can those great armament firms contemplate with equanimity their costly plant lying idle and their working-staffs diminished or dismissed? The mad endeavour to achieve security by armed might has led to the establishment, by private enterprise in each of the principal countries, of huge factories and dockyards, and the livelihood of innumerable people depends on the constant demand for the instruments of death. In the recent French troubles in Morocco, the tribesmen shot their French foes with French rifles and ammunition. The contending forces in China are armed from Europe,¹ Germany apparently being the chief importer. Compelled by the terms of the Versailles treaty to destroy all armaments above a certain minimum, her traders seem to have secured some of the surplus for sale abroad. There are laws, of course, against gun-running, but they can be evaded. The only way in which supply can be effectively prevented from reaching demand is by controlling and rationing supply. Indiscriminate private traffic in arms should not be allowed, in the interests of civilization itself. If Governments avail themselves of the services of commercial firms to equip their armies, they should exercise a rigid control over all output in excess of their own requirements. They have found it necessary in the interests of social order to control the drink traffic. Here is a trade, even more liable to abuse, the effect of which is to imperil international harmony. Many people, on account of the almost inevitable abuses connected with the sale of strong drink, refuse to invest their money in businesses devoted

¹ The great Powers, together with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Holland, Belgium and Denmark, made a China Arms Embargo agreement in 1919 but, owing to "differences of opinion as to the degree of strictness with which its terms should be interpreted," it is largely a dead letter. Not so easily will the armament firms be shackled.

to its manufacture. With more reason should the holders of armament shares ask themselves whether they are not—as the trade is at present conducted—running grave risk of profiting by injustice, and of delaying the return of peace to a war-stricken world. The statesmen deliberate at Geneva, but they shirk the question of the control of output. What wonder that people think that the armament-trusts have too much influence there?

**Pacifism
is not
Peace-Making.**

The cause of peace will not be much advanced by such arguments as a Labour member used in the Parliamentary discussion on the Air Force estimates on March 17th. For he urged that the effect of the "moral gesture," implied in the immediate and total abolition of the Air Force, would be to induce other nations to do likewise. Unfortunately there are too many militarists still in control of European affairs:—men, that is, who don't believe in international peace and have learnt nothing from the late war. In their speeches the "next war" is constantly spoken of, and their energies are devoted to preparation for it. They speak of the necessity of acquiring the "mastery" of the air or of the ocean,—a phrase which should be banished for ever from the language of civilized men. Air and sea are the common property of all the world, and no nation can claim, as an exclusive right, any military or commercial predominance in those elements. Nothing is so prone to irritate other peoples and provoke counter aspirations as the voicing of such unsound claims. This is not to say that a nation may not, without being militarist, aim at creating a defensive force of a size proportionate to its interests. The arguments which Pacifists draw from the Sermon on the Mount assume that the nation and the individual are called to the like moral perfection, an assumption which ignores the diversity of their responsibilities and their destinies. At the same time the fact remains that Governments will do nothing effectual in the matter of disarmament unless they are compelled by their respective peoples. It is in the conversion of public opinion, by sound arguments rather than by sentimental idealism, that, in spite of the sensational press and in spite of the secret financial influences, our hopes of peace ultimately lie.

**Naval
Disarmament.**

President Coolidge's invitation to the "Washington" Powers to agree to a further scaling down of naval forces has met only a modified success. France and Italy hold aloof for different reasons,—France because she thinks the matter best considered by the League in conjunction with the question of land armaments; Italy because of "her particular geographical position." In neither country does there seem to be an organized

and vocal public opinion in favour of peace by agreement and union. However, Japan has joined Great Britain in welcoming the American proposal. As these three Powers are more particularly interested in the question of big ships, the resulting Conference may have a useful effect in reducing the tonnage of cruisers and in further limiting battleships. We are moving gradually towards a conception of naval agreements which will distribute the work of policing the seas—the only function of the Navy in peace—between the great Powers, but we are not there yet. So long as, in the popular estimate, means of aggression carry more weight than a reputation for fair dealing, unnecessary warships will be constructed. Meanwhile, the Conference itself, which it is proposed to hold at Geneva, will help to keep the public aware of the enormous insurance—to put it that way—which they are paying, because of the prevalence of fear and mistrust. It must be said to the credit of France and Italy that neither Power has built warships to the full extent allowed by the Washington Agreement: in fact, none of the signatories have done so—an argument, surely, for further voluntary reduction. Considering the great financial burdens each Power is shouldering, it is strange that there is not enough good will and common sense amongst them to agree to suspend all naval construction for a period, say, of five years; finishing whatever is on the stocks. The relief from taxation so given to industry would cause the absorption of more labour than would have to be dismissed. Before the war “a naval holiday” was scouted as impossible, because the Kaiser was bent on constructing his Grand Fleet: has not international confidence developed enough since then to make it possible now? It may be that the new Germany, severely rationed in warships, will atone for her past share in inflating armaments by insisting on her neighbours adopting her scale. Meanwhile, those interested in world peace will appreciate the British Admiralty's decision to defer the laying down of the 1927 quota of new construction until late in the year when presumably Mr. Coolidge's Geneva Conference will have reached some definite conclusion. And possibly the greater and more general Disarmament Treaty, the draft of which is in active preparation at present at Geneva, will also suggest reasons for further delay.

**A
Conscript
Nation.**

We are not sure that the recently-passed French Bill “for the organization of the country in time of war,” although it is wholly conceived in the pre-1914 spirit and takes no account of external agencies for preventing war, will not prove valuable in advancing the cause of peace. For it formally dis-cards the old distinction between combatants and non-combat-

ants, and, by enrolling the whole nation in war-service, exposes the whole nation to war-risks. No protection to life or security to property will any longer be found in civilian status. Fortified and unfortified towns alike will be lawfully exposed to bombardment. All this may be said to be only giving the sanction of law to what was actually the practice in the late war, but in that lies its grave significance. In war France will become a conscript nation under military discipline, so that criticism will be disloyalty and disobedience treason. Perhaps the result will be to make the people less bellicose: perhaps the interference with private enterprise will cause the world of commerce to be even more peaceful: on the other hand, the evils attendant on conscription—the preoccupation of the civilian mind with military matters—may have the opposite effect. If only the logical French intellect would push the argument to its final conclusion and proclaim that the country at war has a right to the property as well as to the persons of its citizens, and does not intend to burden itself with war-debts,—in other words that wealth, as well as lives and work, will be conscripted,—then the most militarist might turn with relief to a cheaper and surer way of finding security than the desperate hazard of war—that of a World's Court of Arbitration and a Universal Alliance.

**The Virus
of Exaggerated
Nationalism.**

There seems to be something providential in the occurrence of the *Action Française* episode at this time, for it is a striking object-lesson to Catholics all over the world of the danger to their faith arising from the cult of patriotism and from linking the fortunes of religion to any particular faction or form of government. The whole of a Christian's political outlook must be coloured by the fact that he is a member of Christ's Kingdom and subject to its laws, as well as the citizen of some earthly State. His preference for one polity over another, his devotion to a particular dynasty, must be tempered and circumscribed by his higher duties to God. It marks the depth to which the virus of nationalism had penetrated some sections of French Catholicism that these Catechism platitudes should be obscured or obliterated in the minds of many, and that even the voice of the Pope, teaching and ruling, should have failed to recall them to their duties. Even the adhesion of the whole 104 members of the French hierarchy, many of them Royalist in their sympathies, to the Papal condemnation has not opened the eyes of these dupes of a false sentiment. It is as if Catholics in England chose to remain disunited and impotent because a faction favoured the Jacobites and would not associate with those who obeyed the Hanoverians. In France the Royalists have tried to identify the interests of Throne and Altar, and thus

are supported by many out of genuine zeal for the Church. This may explain though it does not excuse their present recalcitrance. It would seem that the same phenomenon, though on a smaller scale has been lately observable in Portugal where there are two Catholic parties of monarchical sympathies, one of which, represented by the paper, *A Epoca*, endeavours to enlist Catholicism exclusively on its side. Its editor, having supported the rebellion of *l'Action Française*, has himself been reprimanded by the Patriarch of Lisbon, and has in consequence suppressed his paper, showing himself, in that regard, a better Catholic than M. Daudet. There is trouble, too, of the same sort, as our readers know, in the little country of Belgium, where minor questions of race and language divide and weaken Catholics who, if united, could preserve their land from the ravages of irreligious socialism. Everywhere, the Church whose glory it is to proclaim the essential brotherhood of men and their common allegiance to Christ has to contend with this foolish exaggeration of a natural virtue which so easily degenerates into racial or national pride.

**Co-operation
with
Non-Catholics.**

It has often been pointed out that Catholicism is a difficult religion in practice because it necessitates in the sincere believer a constant attitude of opposition to the world, which is not Catholic and is often anti-Catholic. It is also an expensive religion, for the maintenance of the unproductive system of external worship and the unproductive class of the priesthood, as well as the furtherance of the faith, falls upon a flock which embraces comparatively few of the wealthy. If ever the Church in any particular country seems to be getting beyond the need of support, there are generally men at hand who by force or fraud manage to relieve her of the reproach of riches. But perhaps the hardest trial for the Catholic is to be obliged, by the very character of his faith and the terms of his religious inheritance, to hold himself aloof from good and religious people in their efforts to promote religion. Rather than seem pharisaic many Catholics are inclined, unwisely, to stretch a point in this regard and to give support by their conduct to the false theory that, so long as one is in good faith, it does not much matter what one believes. And the sense that zealous non-Catholics show of there being no real social betterment without the aid of religion tends to widen the range of those activities in which Catholic co-operation is not lawful. The strong English reform movement of a few years back, which went by the name of C.O.P.E.C.¹ embodied such inadequate views on important points of ethics that Catholics could not associate with it. On the narrower

¹ "Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship."

subject of International Co-operation for Peace, it would seem that some of our religious brethren in the States have felt it possible to work with non-Catholics. There is no trace of pacifism—perhaps on that account—in the resolutions passed at a Chicago Conference in June last or at another held in Pittsburg in November. However, the policy is one which must be pursued with great caution: rightly safeguarded, it is capable of the greatest good, for the Catholic Church is the guardian of the moral law, but applied indiscriminately it may result in blurring the clear distinction between the Church of Christ and those fragmentary Christianities which, through no fault of their present professors, find themselves separated from her and outside the safe stream of Catholic tradition.

**Fundamentalist
Folly.**

The news that the Tennessee Supreme Court has decided by a majority that the law against the teaching of Evolution in the State-schools is not unconstitutional,—in other words, that the State is within its rights in deciding, in favour of the Fundamentalists, their quarrel with the advocates of Evolution, furnishes, quite apart from its religious bearing, a striking instance of the undue interference with conscience, characteristic of the secular State. Any doctrine, such as polygamy or infanticide, which inevitably issues in social disorder and makes what is sinful also criminal, may rightly come under the ban of the civil authorities. The Fundamentalists, perhaps, contend that materialistic evolution, in attacking the existence of God, also destroys the basis of the moral law and thus dissolves human society, but practically no such result is traceable to such teaching. Moreover, the argument would logically demand the suppression of many professorships in American Universities, where atheism is implicitly or explicitly taught. The Tennessee law is based on two false assumptions,—the first, that the Bible account of creation rules out every theory of Evolution; the second, that the profession of atheism naturally and necessarily leads to criminal action which it is the business of the State to prevent or punish. Of course, the law of God, of which the Church is the guardian and exponent, forbids the teaching of atheistic evolution as an offence against the reason and faith; if the Tennessee law founded its prohibition on the sure ground that Monism was manifestly irrational, and calculated therefore to impede true mental development, it might be justifiable; but the law takes its stand on a doubtful interpretation of a religious book,—an excursus into scriptural exegesis which is no business of the State. Yet we are told that a "Campaign for Genesis" is being organized throughout the United States with the object of "prohibiting" Evolution! We may yet see the scientific agnostic, as

in other cases where rational liberty is assailed, calling for support to the sane moderation of the Catholic Church.

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**Unscientific
Dogmatism.**

Of course, atheistic science which, in ruling out God, has ruled out as well not a little common sense and common honesty, has done much to provoke the believer and to discredit its own teaching. Modern scientific research has resulted in the forming and the discarding of many hypotheses, and in the modification of theories which used to be thought axiomatic. Your atheist, therefore, who wishes to use science to attack theism or Christianity has to keep abreast of modern discovery. Now this is what he rarely does. The old ammunition of the Rationalist Association, "dud" explosives of various sorts, is still used by the soap-box orator and the pamphleteer, and even by more pretentious belligerents like Mr. H. G. Wells. In our last issue we gave some account of Mr. Belloc's handling of the latter writer, both as historian and as scientist. Mr. Wells, desirous of vindicating his scientific standing, has since called to his aid a noted Darwinist, Sir Arthur Keith, who some time ago did good service to science by demolishing the fiction that the Piltdown jaw was human, to defend him against the formidable list, cited by Mr. Belloc, of scientific authorities who are anti-Darwinians. We fear that Sir Arthur, in his haste to oblige Mr. Wells, abandoned his usual scientific caution. He examined one of the authorities, M. Vialleton of Montpellier, whose recent trenchant criticisms of transformism was discussed in *THE MONTH* about a year ago,¹ but unfortunately he examined only one of the Professor's books dated 1911, whereas the treatise from which Mr. Belloc quoted to support his argument was published in 1924. Here then we have an eminent scientist showing himself so parochial in his outlook, as to be unaware of a French scientific work of the first importance bearing directly on his own subject. The scientific prestige of Mr. Wells remains where Mr. Belloc has left it, whilst that of Sir Arthur Keith has suffered considerably from that rash interference.

**A final demolition
of the
"Reunion" fallacy.**

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we read the Lenten Pastoral of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, for we found therein, expressed in the clearest and most emphatic terms, that attitude towards "Reunion," which has always been adopted in these pages, yet has been considered by certain foreign Catholics as devoid of both sympathy and understanding. This reproach we may hope henceforth to escape, for we have but

¹ *The Babel of Evolutionary Biology*, II., by James Brodrick, S.J., Jan. 1926.

followed one who possesses authority as well as knowledge. His Eminence traces the failure of all efforts towards Christian unity, whether amongst the Nonconformists themselves or between Anglicans and other Protestant sects, the Eastern Churches and the Catholic Church respectively, to the neglect or oblivion of the only principle of unity—"the acceptance of a divinely constituted central authority." After all, sincere and God-fearing men, who realize the purpose of Christ in founding His church, can only be kept apart by what they consider principles, *i.e.*, truths so certain that all action in denial of them would be sinful. Such a principle for Catholics is the unity and uniqueness of Christ's Church, derived from and dependent on the divinely guaranteed supremacy and teaching authority of the See of Rome. No one who does not accept that principle can be admitted into the Church of Christ. Her ministers are always ready to establish its truth and its reasonableness, but they regard any discussion which hides it from sight or treats it as not of the first importance, as likely to lead nowhere: as indeed has been evidenced by the nugatory results of "Malines." "Thus," says the Cardinal, "only an unduly optimistic observer would venture to say that any real result has been attained by the great and well-intentioned efforts of these recent years." All the more reason, he urges, for increased volumes of prayer for unity, since human argument is a feeble weapon against the ingrained prejudices, held as principles, of tradition and education, without the grace of God. The "Prayer Book crisis" reveals differences of principle in the very heart of Anglicanism, and destroys once for all any pretence it may still claim to teach in the name of Christ.

"Facets
of
Truth."

There is a passage in Milton's *Areopagitica* which throws light upon the mentality of the Anglican in regard to absolute truth. Milton seems to share their opinion that, in spite of

God's revelation, it has become unattainable.

Truth [he says] indeed once came into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look upon: but when he ascended, and his glorious Apostles after him were laid asleep, there strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who . . . took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand peeces and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, . . . went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall doe, till the Masters second comming. . . .

It is on this supposition, viz., that the gates of hell *have* prevailed against Christ's Church, that Milton builds up his plea for "unlicenc'd Printing" and for "Liberty of Prophesying," and the same supposition underlies Anglican divergences and *should* prevent internecine strife. Yet what other body in Christendom has ever exhibited the phenomenon of including a score or so of militant societies all engaged in supporting diverse and contradictory tenets as its genuine teaching? Here are the titles of a few:—"The Churchmen's Union" (Modernist); the "English Church Union," the "Federation of Catholic Priests" ("Anglo-Catholic"); "The Church Association," "The League of Loyal Churchmen," "The Protestant Truth Society," "The Protestant Alliance," "The National Church League," "The Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen," "The Anglican Evangelical Group Movement" (all Low Protestant), and finally a society, the name of which suggests the fusion of all the rest—"The Anglican Movement for the Maintenance of the Doctrine of the Church of England as Catholic and Reformed." Macaulay's description of the Establishment as "a hundred sects battling within one Church" was never so true as to-day. But on their principles they have no right to fight: that they do, is surely an indication that they instinctively feel their principles when applied to revealed religion to be wrong.

THE EDITOR.

III. NOTES ON THE PRESS

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles which 1) expound Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) expose heresy and bigotry, and 3) are of general Catholic interest.]

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

Catechism, Plea for Reform of [*Ecclesiastical Review*, Feb. 1927, p. 165].

Christ's Kingdom predicted in the O.T. [P. M. Cerezal in *La Ciudad de Dios*, March 20, 1927, p. 420].

Evolutionary Theories, How to regard [A. F. Frumveller, S.J., in *Thought*, March, 1927, p. 676].

Socialist Principles condemned by the Church [*Credo*, Feb. 1927, p. 9].

Unity, True Nature of Catholic [Cardinal Bourne's Lenten Pastoral in *Tablet*, March 5, 1927, p. 306].

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

Anglican Disingenuousness regarding Prayer Book [*Tablet*, Feb. 26, 1927, p. 265; Anglican "Opinions," J. Keating, S.J., in *MONTH*, April, 1927, p. 334].

Calumnies against the Popes. I. Pius IX. [H. Thurston, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, March, 1927, p. 258].

Catholic approval of dangerous books, Misguided [W. J. Lonergan, S.J., in *America*, Feb. 26, 1927, p. 473].

Confession; Protestants advocate the practice [*Catholic World*, March, 1927, p. 838].

Divorce, Napoleon's so-called [M. Leahy in *Introibo*, March-April, 1927, p. 25].

Durant's, Dr. W., "Story of Philosophy" exposed [M. Kenny, S.J., in *Thought*, March, 1927, p. 724].

Edison's religious limitations [*Catholic World*, March, 1927, p. 834].

God, Wrong Theories about [Dr. F. J. Sheen in *Thought*, March, 1927, p. 575].

Preachers, Libels against Medieval [Rev. H. T. Henry in *Ecclesiastical Review*, March, 1927, p. 282].

POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

Catholicism and Fascism [M. Vaussard in *Revue Apologetique*, March, 1927, p. 330].

Cinema Censorship, The Case for [*Glasgow Observer*, Feb. 26, 1927, p. 11; Cinema in defence of the Faith, How to use: *Credo*, Feb., 1927, p. 16].

French Catholicism, Renewed vigour in [Denis Gwynn in *Blackfriars*, March, 1927, p. 143].

Judaism and the Primitive Church [Rev. E. Krebs, D.D., in *Thought*, March, 1927, p. 658].

New York Stage, hopeless corruption of [F. X. Talbot, S.J., in *America*, March 5, 1927, p. 494].

Protestant Boycott of Catholic Books [Rev. P. A. Forde in *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis), March 1, 1927, p. 97].

Retreat-Movement in Catalonia [P. Dudon in *Etudes*, March 5, 1927, p. 591; G. S. Burns in *MONTH*, April, 1927, p. 289; in Europe generally, by E. Garesché, S.J., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, March, 1927, p. 275].

Russian Church: use of Ikons in [Count Bennigsen in *Tablet*, Feb. 26, March 5, 1927].

REVIEWS

I—THE VATICAN EDITION OF THE VULGATE¹

IT would be an injustice if the criticism somewhat freely directed against Dom H. Quentin's methods of textual revision blinded us to the great value and importance of his labours in a field which almost more than any other form of research makes such severe demands upon an editor's patience and accuracy. Here at last is the first instalment of the work inaugurated by Pope Pius X. twenty years ago, though it embraces only the prefatory matter and the Book of Genesis, amounting to hardly more than a twentieth part of the whole Bible. We are not, however, complaining of the tardiness of its appearance. It is plain that vast preliminary investigations have to be undertaken before any start can be made in work of this description, and, no doubt, now that the materials have been brought together and definite principles decided upon, progress will be more rapid in future. What will be disputed by no one is that we have here a sound and final text of St. Jerome's translation of the Old Testament, together with a very ample critical apparatus. Moreover, even those who may differ fundamentally from Dom Quentin's canons of revision will not question the fact that if other principles had been adopted the resulting changes in the wording of the Vulgate Genesis would be extremely trivial. Negatively we may be assured that the material has been thoroughly sifted. No startling surprises can now possibly reward the research of any future investigator in the same field.

Materially speaking the book before us reflects much credit on the Vatican Press. The typography is clear, the paper opaque and strong. Although a few unfortunate misprints are loyally noted, we have seen no reason to doubt the high level of accuracy which is in general maintained. The critical apparatus which occupies a good half of each page is grouped together at three levels. Immediately under the text we have the few but early variant readings from the three main families of manuscripts, Alcuinian, Theodulphian, and Spanish—so Dom Quentin reckons them [this family grouping is one of the points which has most lent itself to what we must deem well-founded criticism]—and upon the data supplied by the best representatives of these families the editor relies to reconstitute that archetype which

¹ *Biblia Sacra juxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad codicum fidem cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti præsidente Aidano Gasquet S.R.E. Cardinale edita. Librum Genesis recensuit D. H. Quentin. Romæ, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Pp. xlviii. 428. 1926.*

he aims at reproducing. Below this we have a much larger selection of variants taken from some 34 selected manuscripts and from the printed editions, and these mainly serve the purpose of illustrating the history of the corruptions introduced in the course of time and of the attempts made to correct them. Finally at the foot of the page stands a record of the manner in which the text is divided or broken up in the different manuscripts of principal consequence. Prefixed to the Book of Genesis itself we have, perhaps for the first time, a quite satisfactory critical edition of St. Jerome's letter to Paulinus together with the verse prologues of Alcuin and Theodulphus, and to these are also added the "Capitula," or summaries, found in various early manuscripts. Further there is printed as an appendix to the volume a section entitled "Orthographica," which must have cost immense labour and which registers in detail some important anomalies in the spelling of words.

When so much is given us it might seem unreasonable to ask for more, and yet one may confess to a certain sense of disappointment that Dom Quentin in his "Prolegomena" does not speak at greater length of the principles he has followed in determining the text finally adopted. No doubt he assumes that the specialists to whom such a book is mainly addressed will already be familiar with his "Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate," published as far back as 1922, and with his more recent "Essais de critique textuelle"; but the work before us is after all a monument for all time, and one cannot help feeling that with a view to future generations of readers it ought to justify itself within its own covers. The argumentation which Dom Quentin uses to persuade us that the archetype from which all our existing manuscripts depend was already some way removed from St. Jerome's text does not appear entirely convincing. For example the "ad lavandos pedes camelorum," which Dom Quentin accepts as the reading of the archetype (Gen. xxiv. 32), but which he considers could never have been penned by St. Jerome himself, has recently found in Father Vaccari, S.J., a very plausible apologist. In this case Dom Quentin has not hesitated to correct the text; but in the passage "ipsa conteret caput tuum" (she shall crush thy head) (Gen. iii. 15), though the Ottobonianus reads "ipse," the "ipsa" is accepted as the reading of the archetype and is retained as St. Jerome's own.

It was probably inevitable that the editor having so wide a range of MSS. to deal with should adopt a special system for labelling the codices and indicating their relationship, but one must regret a certain measure of confusion which is likely to arise from different editors using the same "sigle" in different senses. For example while the A and C of Wordsworth and White still serve Dom Quentin to indicate the Codex Amia-

tinus and the Codex Cavensis respectively, the letter T is used by him to denote the Turonensis now at Tours, whereas in Wordsworth and White T is identified with the Toletanus at Madrid. Similarly the G which figures so largely in the present volume is the famous Ashburnham codex stolen from Tours by Libri, and M is the Maudramnus; but both these letters have an entirely different reference in Wordsworth-White. One final comment which suggests itself is that a few facsimile pages from the manuscripts would greatly assist the reader in interpreting the division marks recorded so studiously at the foot of each page. The three lines devoted on p. xlv. to explaining this feature hardly seem adequate without further illustration.

2—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION¹

ALTHOUGH the book before us is expressly described as an "introductory study" and does not claim to deal with any period later than the Great Schism, the lettering on the back and the title which stands by itself on the first vacant page seem to promise rather more—this is also the case with Mr. Nickerson's recent volume—than we actually find when we come to examine it. A history of the Inquisition which says nothing of Torquemada sounds a little like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Still we are grateful to Mr. Maycock for his smoothly-written essay and we are glad to be able to recommend it to students as a temperate, yet by no means blindly apologetic, account of an institution which few historians seem able to view calmly in its just perspective. The book before us is the work of a Catholic well known to our readers, and it appears with a formal imprimatur and a singularly illuminating preface by Father Ronald Knox, but Mr. Maycock is quite outspoken in his criticisms of inquisitorial procedure when occasion calls for them. We are thoroughly in agreement with him when he says: "It was absurd of De Maistre to declare that 'all that is terrible and cruel about this tribunal, especially the death penalty, was due to the State. . . All the clemency on the contrary must be ascribed to the Church.' Such a summary is a gross exaggeration of the actual facts." This is emphatically true and it needed to be stated in terms that were quite unmistakable. On the other hand we are inclined to think that our author may sometimes have been a little too ready to accept the assertions of Dr. H. C. Lea and other prejudiced authorities without ade-

¹ *The Inquisition, from its Establishment to the Great Schism—an Introductory Study.* By A. L. Maycock, M.A. London: Constable & Co. Pp. xxiv. 276. Price, 12s. 6d., 1926.

quate verification. There is an interesting point connected with the term "*carcer perpetuus*" which we should like to see discussed by some investigator thoroughly familiar at first hand with the sources. Does it always, as so many have assumed, mean imprisonment for life? Mr. Maycock thinks so, though he says, "still there is room to believe that the term '*perpetual imprisonment*' was little more than a stock phrase, retained through long force of custom, though meaning very little in practice." We should be inclined to go further and to urge that at least in certain districts and at certain periods "*carcer perpetuus*" did not refer to the term of detention, but to the material edifice, and that it did not mean perpetual imprisonment but rather confinement in a permanent gaol.

Again Mr. Maycock, we fancy, overstates the case when he asserts that after a heretic had been "relaxed" by the tribunal of the Inquisition he was at once led off to execution. "There was no question," he says, "of any second trial by the secular power, and it was not deemed necessary that the magistrate should know anything about the case" (p. 180). Our author appeals to the burning of St. Joan of Arc, as to which he tells us that "the civil magistrates were not even consulted." This is not quite accurate. Manchon, the most competent witness in the rehabilitation process, declares that she *was* brought to the bailli, though this official, without any other formality, simply remarked, "Lead her away." But, what is more to the point, the Dominican, Ladvenu, deposes that in a similar condemnation by the Inquisition two years later of one Georget Folenfant, he (Ladvenu) was himself commissioned to tell the bailli that this irregularity could not be allowed to happen again, and that the prisoner must formally be sentenced by the civil magistrate.

These, however, are matters of no grave consequence, and although Mr. Maycock leaves the impression of working from approved handbooks rather than from sources, his presentment of the subject may be accepted as substantially accurate. There are a few misprints, and we may probably reckon under this head the mention on p. 11 of "*St*" Thomas à Kempis; but it is curious that when our author on the previous page seems to be summing up the glorious achievements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries he should include as one of the items in his dithyramb: "Never have the depths of mystical experience been sounded with such sureness and beauty as in the '*Imitation of Christ*'." Is it necessary to mention that Thomas à Kempis died, not in the age of St. Thomas Aquinas with whom he is here coupled, but in the year 1471 when another famous Thomas, *i.e.*, Torquemada, was already fifty years old?

H.T.

3—THE MYSTICISM OF THE CHURCH¹

THE second edition of Abbot Butler's "Western Mysticism" places its author definitely among the classic writers on the history of the contemplative life. But it does more than that. The additions to the original work which it contains take it over the purely historical horizon, and the book is now also a treatise on the mystical life itself. Abbot Butler has missed nothing of importance that has been written on the subject of recent years, and he possesses an enviable gift for extracting the pith and marrow of what he reads and presenting it in an easily assimilable form to his own readers, many of whom might, unassisted, have wandered long, and far less profitably, among the copious sources of his inspiration.

But it would be a capital mistake to regard him as no more than a skilful *vulgarisateur*. He has most evidently studied profoundly and with perfect understanding and sympathy the great Doctors of mysticism—St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, St. John of the Cross, St. Teresa—no less than their modern commentators and interpreters; and a more sane and balanced judgment, between them all, than he displays, it is difficult to imagine. His book is, in fact, a concentrated library of the engrossing subject of which it treats: it is a record, an analysis, a thesis, a bibliography.

His personal opinion is not in doubt, but he does not obtrude it: one is guided, but still left free to take one's own choice, among the debated questions of theory and practice which he so exhaustively examines.

The eighty-five pages of "Afterthoughts" embody the precious results of criticisms which have reached the author on his first edition, together with the matured results of his own further thought and reading. Almost as attractive is the Appendix in which is examined the phenomenon—so disquieting to many—of mystical states found outside the Church, and even among non-Christians, in both ancient and modern times.

Canon Saudreau's "Life of Union with God," translated by E. J. Strickland, covers much the same ground as Abbot Butler's work, but with a different object and in a very different spirit. Canon Saudreau is well known as the leading exponent of what one may not unfittingly call the "Anti-Poulain" school, since it was Père Poulain, S.J., who in his monumental "Grâces d'Oraison" was the principal author of

* (1) *Western Mysticism*. By Dom Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B. Second edition. London: Constable & Co. Pp. xci. 352. Price, 12s. n.

(2) *The Life of Union with God*. By Canon Saudreau. Translated by E. J. Strickland. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. Pp. ix. 331. Price, 10s. 6d.

the remarkable modern awakening of interest in practical mysticism, and the foremost defender of the distinction between "acquired" and "infused" contemplation, which Canon Saudreau, Lamballe, Arintero and others vehemently deny. There is disagreement, too, between the two schools on the question of the "call to contemplation" and on other subsidiary matters. But to those who are interested in the subject from the point of view of practice, the quarrel seems to be mainly one of words.

The book under review may, however, be recommended without reserve as a treatise of great practical interest and value, since differences of opinion, affecting after all only certain definitions and classifications which are not really of fundamental importance, do not interfere with essential agreement upon the main issues.

4—ST. AUGUSTINE ON CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION

THE author of this doctoral thesis has been lucky in the selection of his subject, and he has produced a decidedly attractive volume, a delight to the eye, and a pleasure to handle and read. Still more attractive, especially for priests, is the matter discussed: the catechetical method of teaching—older than our Gospels, and to-day a live institution within the Church. Homiletics are near neighbours of catechetics: and accordingly a treatise "On the Teaching of the Uninstructed," furnishes material, and sheds light on method, as regards the twofold pastoral functions of weekday catechism and Sunday homily. Another attraction possessed by this book is the type to which it conforms, so familiar to everyone who has prepared even for the entrance examination to a University. For it adopts the stereotyped system: Introduction, Text and Translation, and Notes. With a beautifully printed Latin text on one side, and on the opposite a neat, idiomatic and even elegant translation, the veriest tiro in Latin can revel in the reading; and those who have allowed their classical knowledge to rust, can revive it without thumbing a lexicon. Lastly what can be more attractive than a sound pedagogical dissertation by the great luminary of the West, St. Augustine, boldest and profoundest of thinkers, among Latin stylists second only, if at all, to Cicero?

Just a few words of criticism on the "Notes," which are generally appropriate, rich, instructive, clearing away almost every difficulty a reader of ordinary education can encounter. The author has rightly incorporated many valuable extracts from French and

* *S. Aurelii Augustini, Hipponiensis Episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus Liber Unus.* A doctoral dissertation by J. P. Christopher. Washington Patristic Series. The Catholic Education Press, Brookland, D.C., U.S.A. Price 3 dollars.

German experts, but unfortunately has not translated them. Now German erudition is notorious for the obscurity of its style, so that even our best linguists would much prefer to find these passages, not in the original, but in plain, clear, crisp, uninvolved English prose. While scholars expect to see quotations from Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, and even Armenian, reproduced in their original garb, they see nothing sacrosanct about modern languages, which they themselves can speak. In fact, the practice here censured would seem to be a sort of highbrow-ishness; for the hypothesis of lack of time or incompetence to translate must be discarded. This is a serious drawback in a work which, unlike most of its companion volumes in the "Patristic Series," was clearly not intended for the exclusive use of the learned.

There are also some inaccuracies that should be recorded, as far as space will allow. There is not infrequent, always judicious and commendably brief reference to the figures of speech, *e.g.*, paronomasia, epanaphora (miscalled anaphora), anacoluthon, etc. Yet some of these references are both inconsistent and inaccurate; and these slips are the more inexcusable as the writer had at his elbow Dr. M. I. Barry's excellent monograph on this subject. In discussing the term *oracula* (oracles) he traces its origin, through Ambrose, to Philo's use of *χρησμός*, *oracle* with distinct pagan connotation. Ambrose much more probably drew on the Septuagint and New Testament, and very likely has in mind *logia*, with its innocuous meaning of "oracles," rendered sometimes in Church Latin as *eloquia Dei* which became "a favourite word used by the Fathers to designate Holy Scripture." The note on "faith," *πίστις*, *fides* (p. 128) and its supplement (p. 325), fail to mention the common and most characteristically Christian meaning of *pistis* namely "belief on the authority of another person." In the light of current Kantian doctrine, this should have been emphasized. A number of other inaccuracies must stand over as our space is exhausted. We may, however, be allowed to remark in conclusion that despite these comparatively few defects every studious priest will do well to acquire this book; and it is to be hoped that no Seminary librarian will refuse his students the treat in store for them from its perusal.

J. D.

SHORT NOTICES.

BIBLICAL.

THE continued succession of announcements of the Messiah, which began with the Fall and was consummated by the Redeemer Himself, has always occupied the attention of believers. Even those conversant with the language and traditions of Israel did not find it an easy subject, for prophecy was generally clothed in veiled language. Hence when the Messiah came, the learned of His people did not recognize Him, and even His disciples were at fault. It is doubtless easier for us

in a sense to trace the gradual unfolding of the Messianic plan in the Old Testament, for we have the fulfilment to guide us. Prolific is the literature on the subject, and in *Les Voix qui Montent* (Lethielleux: Paris), Canon Cordonnier, of Rouen, adds another useful volume, dealing with the Messianic prophecies from Adam to Solomon.

The issue of a thoroughly revised edition of Vol. III. of the Westminster Version of the Scriptures—*St. Paul's Epistles to the Churches* (Longmans: 8s. 6d.)—indicates that this great enterprise is finding support. This second edition has profited by a careful reconsideration both of translation and notes, and those who have not yet made the acquaintance of the new Version cannot fail to be favourably impressed with its clearness and accuracy. Out of the four Volumes which include all the New Testament, the two last are now complete. St. Mark (Vol. I.) is in print, and the other Gospels with the Acts are in a state of active preparation.

MORAL THEOLOGY.

The National Council of Public Morals is pursuing a praiseworthy object in exposing and opposing various practices which are injurious to society, and publishing its investigations upon them. But it suffers from ignorance of the moral tradition of Christianity, and sometimes its reasonings and deductions are vitiated by logical flaws and confusion of terms. Hence the clear and unsparing criticism to which Father Henry Davis, S.J., Professor of Moral Theology at Heythrop College, has subjected the Report of the Council on "Birth Control" is exceedingly useful, and even necessary, if the Report, for all its profession of Christian principle, is to do good rather than harm. The main defect of the Report lies in the fact that it does not recognize "Birth Control" (which is a short, but inadequate, expression for "Artificial Prevention of Conception") to be intrinsically evil, therefore always and everywhere unlawful. Hence its denunciations of the practice are ineffectual, for if a thing is not evil *per se*, circumstances can always be found, or invented, for justifying it. It is refreshing to see how the keen, logical mind of the trained moralist detects the real meaning of the verbal camouflage in which the loose thinking of the Report tries to disguise itself. The book, which is called *Birth Control Ethics* (B.O. and W.: 1s.), will be an invaluable asset in the armoury of Dr. Sutherland's "League of National Life."

DEVOTIONAL.

Suffering in its most generic sense is the balking of desire for something which we think conduces to our well-being. We may be mistaken in that thought, as when we imagine that we can really profit by sin, but so long as we are exposed to temptation to wrong-doing, we cannot resist without some degree of suffering. Physical suffering opposes our natural desire for our physical ease: moral suffering our desire for peace of soul: supernatural suffering our longing for the ending of our exile. And all those varieties of affliction may be experienced out of pure sympathy with others in suffering. Considering that mankind has since the Fall been exposed to suffering of every kind, and considering that the Man of Sorrows has taught us so explicitly, it is strange that the philosophy of suffering—the Mystery of the Cross—is not better understood. It is not for want of much

instruction. Here are two books, both by French authors, but one translated into English—*De la Souffrance* (Lethielleux: 10.00 fr.), by Marguerite Duportal, and *Suffering: its meaning and value* (Sands: 3s. 6d. m.), "adapted" by Sister M. R. Capes from the French of Père L. de Smet, S.J.—which repeat with considerable freshness the traditional Christian explanation of the rôle of affliction in this fallen world. The first point is to remember that the world *is* fallen, permanently distorted and out of joint, and that, therefore, suffering is inevitable. The second point is that suffering can, by the alchemy of God's grace, be changed into eternal joy. Mlle. Duportal's treatment is the more exhaustive: Père de Smet dwells rather on principles: both are calculated to bring peace and resignation to harassed souls who have the initial grace of faith.

Given an omnipotent Creator and Judge, nothing can be more important for the creature than the means and the rules of intercourse with Him, *i.e.*, the method of conversing with God. These pages bear frequent testimony to the multitude of suggestions offered to the faithful in this matter. In *Cœur à Cœur avec le Bon Dieu* (Téqui: 5.00 fr.), Père Victor Marchal, C.S.S.R., devotes many luminous pages to describing how one may progress from simple reflection on details of the faith to the prayer itself of simplicity, the highest form of active prayer. His exposition is solidly grounded on the experiences of the great masters of the spiritual life.

Not a few of the two-dozen devotional works, which Mgr. Tissier, the Bishop of Chalons, has already issued, are concerned with the special spiritual needs and dangers of the devout sex. In the conferences called *La Femme Française: Hier—Aujourd'hui—Demain* (Téqui: 5.00 fr.), he confines himself to the particular requirements of his own country-women, sketching the radical alteration in modern feminine ideals and practices as contrasted with the old, and examining the prospects of the future. The Bishop insists very strongly on the difference of natural and social functions between male and female, and deprecates any attempt to equate them.

Author of some eight volumes of "retreats," adapted to various classes of the community and various seasons, M. l'Abbé J. Millot, Vicar-General of Versailles, has issued in skeleton form in a single book, *Plans de Sermons de Retraites* (Téqui: 10.00 fr.), which provides a very useful synopsis of his previous works.

There is more spiritual and intellectual sustenance in the five not very long sermons, preached by Father C. C. Martindale in Westminster Cathedral, and published with the title, *Christ is King* (Sheed and Ward: 2s. 6d.), than in many lengthy and weighty collections. For here the preacher goes to the root of the matter, and with sure bold strokes sketches the foundations of Christ's Spiritual Kingdom and the claims He has on human allegiance. One is reminded by the clearness of thought and strength of style in these discourses of Cardinal Manning's sermons on "Four Great Evils of the Day." This is a book for the educated unbeliever.

No author is credited with the production of *A Directory for Novices of the Ursuline Order* (B. O. and W.: 3s. 6d.), which is now in its fifth edition, but it doubtless is the fruit of much experience in spiritual direction, and contains all that is necessary to cultivate the spirit of

religion in nuns who have duties in choir and school. The detailed explanation of the Office of Our Lady strikes us as being particularly helpful.

A mixture of pious reflections from the writings of Catherine McAuley, Foundress of the Sisters of Mercy, and simple little verses attached to the various duties of the day is printed together in *The Sister of Mercy's Daily Round* (Gill and Son: 2s. n.), and the booklet closes with a collection of "Miscellaneous Poems," breathing simplicity and devotion.

The titles which Christian piety has applied to the Mother of God have always inspired poets and mystics as well as the lesser-known class of theologians. It is to the latter that Madame Forbes has turned in the compilation called *Meditations on the Litany of Our Lady from the Doctors and Fathers of the Church* (Longmans: 1s. 6d.), a booklet, which shows how soon and how clearly the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin were appreciated by the Church. Fr. George Byrne contributes a scholarly preface.

No one has been so successful as St. Francis of Sales in showing the essential peace and happiness of the devout life, based on a recognition and fulfilment of the regenerated creature's duties and rewarded even here by the experience of the Creator's love which is also that of a Father. Those duties are summed up in unimpeded intercourse with God by mind and will; in other words, in the art of prayer. Hence *La Vie d'Oraison d'après S. Francois de Sales* (Téqui: 1.50 fr.) which Canon Henri Lanier has drawn up is likely to prove a great assistance to many souls.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

The recent death of the Danish atheist, Georg Brandes, shortly after publishing his vain attack upon the historicity of our Lord, gives additional interest to the Life of one who was once numbered amongst his disciples, Johannes Joergensen, which is appearing in two volumes, translated into French by Jacques de Coussange, under the title, *Le Pèlerinage de Ma Vie* (Beauchesne: 25.00 fr.). The French edition, of which the first volume is to hand, is a condensation as well as a translation, for Joergensen's autobiography extends to six volumes, but we are assured that nothing essential has been omitted. We are sure this Life will find a large public, for Joergensen is one of those "intellectuals" whose entry into or return to the Church is such a phenomenon in every land, and he is already favourably known to Catholics by his work on St. Francis of Assisi and other saints. M. de Coussange enriches the book by many useful historical and biographical notes.

It is, we suppose, inevitable that a career like that of St. Thérèse of Lisieux, which concealed such high and pure self-sacrifice under a certain veil of emotion, should gather a great deal of sentiment around it, resulting in undue stressing of what is comparatively unimportant. Its brevity, its hiddenness, its outward ordinariness, almost compel the narrator to expatiate on details which have little interest or significance in themselves. We cannot say that M. Jacques d'Ars, who has written *L'Etoile du Carmel* (Lethielleux: 8.00 fr.), has altogether escaped this danger: however, his story can be read with pleasure in spite of its dwelling on not a few trivialities.

M. l'Abbé A. d'Agnel's new book—*Saint Vincent de Paul, "Guide du Prêtre"* (Téqui: 10.00 fr.)—is not a biography in the ordinary sense, but an exhaustive commentary on the ecclesiastical state,—its duties, its dangers, its privileges,—illustrated by frequent references to the example and teaching of the Saint. As such it seems to keep a high ideal before the clergy, and to show how success in their arduous calling can most surely be attained.

One of the fruits of the celebration of the Bicentenary of St. Aloysius last year has been a number of endeavours to estimate his character, the traits of which are not unfrequently obscured by the misdirected zeal of biographers. Amongst these essays the little book, *Sur les Pas de Saint Louis de Gonzague* (Téqui: 5.00 fr.), by Père L. Rouzic, S.J., should take a high place, for the author aims at showing in how many ways the Saint is imitable by the youth of our own time.

A compact volume of some three hundred pages presents in a convenient form all that is most noteworthy about the founder of a great religious Order. In *Saint Dominique: sa Vie, son Ame, son Ordre* (Téqui: 12.00 fr.), by Père L. J. D. Rambaud, O.P., the reader will find the fruits of a profound knowledge of Dominican materials, combined with a skilful selection of what is best calculated to give a vivid and practical picture of the Saint. A biography thoroughly to be recommended.

A sort of guide to the hagiography of Ireland has been compiled by Miss Mary Maher and called *Footsteps of Irish Saints* (B.O. & W.: 3s. 6d.). The author goes methodically through the country diocese by diocese and brings together, from stores of wide reading and with a gossiping commentary, the holy persons connected with each. Even Irish folk may be surprised to learn how many these are and how world-wide their influence.

A pamphlet life of the famous Curé d'Ars, *Saint Jean-Marie-Baptiste Vianney*, by the Abbé J. Trochu, issued by "La Bonne Presse" at 1.50 fr., makes easily accessible the facts of a wonderful career.

Among the Rossiana MSS., recently added to the Vatican Library, was discovered a small volume of MS. letters, ranging from 1521—1531, written for the most part by Reginald Pole's tutor at Padua, Leonicus, to his pupil, and to other English scholars such as Pace, Tunstall, Lupset, William Latimer, More and Linacre. Students of the period and of the English humanists will be grateful to His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet for rescuing these letters from obscurity by a free translation of them into English in his recently published *Cardinal Pole and His Early Friends* (G. Bell: 4s. 6d. n.). References in this correspondence to the election of Clement VII., the siege of Pavia in 1525, the aftermath of devastation in North Italy caused by the wars of the period and to other contemporary topics are not without their value, though the letters hardly contain matter of first-rate historical importance. They serve, however, to show the high esteem in which the English humanists were held in Italy, and the bond of real friendship which united the scholars of the two countries, and they supply interesting notices of such books as Pace's Latin translation of Plutarch's "De Avaritia," More's "Utopia," Leonicus' "De Varia Historia," his Dialogues and Commentaries on Aristotle's "Parva Naturalia" and others. Admirers of Cardinal Pole will also be glad to note in these letters the veneration and affection which, even in these early years, his character and learning inspired

in those who came under his influence. There is perhaps evidence of a certain want of supervision in the composition of the book: thus, the fact of Bimbo's return from Rome to Padua is mentioned three times in the course of three short pages: Pole's journey to Italy is ascribed on page 18 and elsewhere to 1521 but on page 13 to 1519, while his letter to the King on his arrival at Padua, calendared by Brewer under 1519 is wrongly assigned to 1521.

HISTORICAL.

Mr. Christopher Hollis, in his **Glastonbury and England** (Sheed and Ward: 2s. 6d.), makes the famous Abbey a peg on which to hang many witty and cynical remarks about the way in which history is written under the influence of the great Protestant tradition. And so in addition to the story of the West-country shrine, one is pleasantly diverted by shrewd comments on the mistaken views of the learned and pedantic. Mr. Belloc will like this book, which embodies his own historical outlook, and has caught not a little of his sub-acid style.

A remarkable instance of the triumph of truth over religious prejudice is afforded by the Rev. John Campbell MacNaught's essay, **The Celtic Church and the See of Peter** (Blackwell: 7s. 6d. n.), wherein the Scottish minister, after reading or consulting some eighty authorities, comes to the reasoned conclusion that the Celtic Church, both British and Scoto-Irish, acknowledged Papal supremacy. The spirit in which his study was conducted and its results are best summed up in his own words at the end—"while maintaining in the interests of historical truth that the ancient Celtic Christians recognized the Roman Primacy, it is not to be supposed that he [the writer] personally acknowledges the validity of the Papal claims." He admits, too, in his Preface that he began his investigations with a strong bias in the opposite direction, but the farther he proceeded, the more impossible became the ordinary Protestant view. It is interesting to note that he has made free use of the valuable collection of patristic testimonies contained in Allnatt's "Cathedra Petri."

Two modest little paper-backed books, by the Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., called **Current Errors in English History** (published in Calcutta, but obtainable, we understand, from the author, St. Walburgh's, Preston, at 1s. 6d. each), have a value far exceeding their size and price. For they expose, in a popular fashion, those misinterpretations of the past which the exigencies of Protestant controversy have introduced into many of the non-Catholic history-books in this country, and despite a certain looseness of arrangement, will help both student and teacher to a right understanding. Something seems lacking in the Introduction of our copy, which ends abruptly at page v, without saying anything of the plan of the books or of the special non-Catholic histories which the author is exposing.

The history of missions from the days of the apostles to the foundation of Propaganda; the story of modern societies for the propagation of the faith; the sudden awakening in America so that from a recipient of alms it now became a generous benefactor; the starting of literary propaganda; the founding of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America and the seminary at Maryknoll; the wonderful response of Catholic America to this appeal; lastly, some little idea of the fruits

already gained by the Maryknoll movement; such are the contents of an inspiring little book entitled **The Maryknoll Movement**, by the Rev. George C. Powers (Maryknoll, New York: \$1.50). It should serve excellently to consolidate and inspire missionary enthusiasm in the States.

POETRY.

A very pleasant volume by an American lady, **The Selected Poems of Lizette Woodworth Reese** (Longmans: 7s. 6d.), is introduced to the British public by Mr. W. de la Mare. Nearly every poem is an expression of personal affection, sad for the most part, and wistful, yet saved from any approach to mawkishness by a steadfastly courageous outlook on life and on death. The sonnets—and there are plenty of them—are especially fine, moving freely with real power and gathered impetus to an inevitable and genuine end; not just cut short because the fourteenth line has been achieved. Nevertheless, something is wanting! Not in the poetry, for each piece, save for a few trivial and unworthy exceptions, is a jewel, but in the absence of background: the jewels have no setting. Hope and courage are there but unexplained; hope without faith is a poor thing, and necessarily vague in its aspiration; courage that should be gay and light-hearted is but a grim setting of the teeth when life and death are faced without a knowledge of their purpose. Hope without faith "draws nectar in a sieve." True, in these poems the word "God" is used from time to time; but the suspicion that its use is conventional rather than sincere grows in the reader's mind, leaving a general impression of aimlessness and incompleteness, in spite of the great beauty of the individual verses.

NON-CATHOLIC.

Mr. Archibald Chisholm, in **High Roads and Cross Roads** (Longmans: 2s. 6d. n.), publishes some moral lectures upholding the Christian view as against worldly compromise in certain ethical and social problems, and showing that the right road will always turn out to be the best road.

The Christian may learn something that is true, but much that is false from the book by the Hindoo "mystic," Sadhu Sundar Singh, called **Visions of the Spiritual World** (Macmillan & Co.: 2s. 6d. n.), and supposed to be a treatise on eschatology.

Mr. Bruce Barton, an American, disturbed at the fact that Protestantism, which cast off the authority of the Church in favour of that of the Bible, has ceased to read the volume which is its sole rule of faith, has tried in **The Book Nobody Knows** (Constable & Co.: 6s. n.), to revive the interest of his coreligionists in the Scriptures by describing their contents with occasional extracts. The result is a very readable book, which should effect its purpose. Catholics, however, can have little use for it, for Mr. Barton's exegesis is not that of the Church.

MISCELLANEOUS.

It is remarkable that in a composite volume on **Retreats: their value, method and organization** (S.P.C.K.: 3s. 6d.) the only Catholic contribution—that of the Rev. George Pollen, S.J.—should be devoted to a statistical and very interesting account of the origin and spread of the retreat movement in the Catholic Church, whilst the Anglican contributors deal

with the object, character and methods of retreat-making and giving. The Catholic takes for granted what the others are at great pains to explain. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that retreats are still something of a novelty in Anglicanism. On the other hand the volume shows how completely that body has taken hold of the practice, and how capably it is being applied,—largely, we should imagine, through the writings of the Rev. J. E. Longridge, who has made a very thorough study of the Exercises of St. Ignatius. We can only rejoice that it is so, for a retreat supposes good-will and a zeal of truth—the prerequisites of conversion.

The account written by a pilgrim priest, the Very Rev. James Canon O'Boyle, of the great religious gathering at Chicago last year and called **The Eucharistic Congress: Chicago, 1926** (Browne and Nolan: 4s. 6d.), brings together in convenient form the main facts concerning previous meetings of the kind and the principal features of the last and greatest. Pending the appearance of the Official Report, it may serve to keep in mind that remarkable event, but the record in itself hardly distinguishes enough between the important and the ephemeral and is written in a hasty impressionist style, which involves many minor inaccuracies. The Chicago river, for instance, does not empty into Lake Michigan but, by a stupendous feat of engineering, the Lake has been made to flow into the river and ultimately reaches the Mississippi. However, the book as a whole will give people at home a good idea of the Congress.

We cannot but think that the title **Empire Restored** (Sheed & Ward: 1s. paper: 2s. cloth), which the well-known economist Mr. W. A. S. Hewins has given to his collection of lectures, delivered to the students of the Philip Stott College, may possibly deter some readers from considering his views. The nature of the many Empires which deservedly perished in the war has inevitably given a sinister connotation to the word, which is not removed by the known "jingoistic" views of many who support what bears the name of the British Empire and yet is not in any evil way imperialistic. That free association of free nations is a Commonwealth, and, though it has aims and aspirations for its own welfare, they are such as are compatible with and even helpful to the welfare of the world. The subject of these lectures is the economic interactions of the various members of the Commonwealth and the cause supported by the lecturer is "Imperial Preference." As the whole question of tariffs is political it cannot be discussed here, but the reader will find in this little book a clear and sober historical discussion of the issues involved.

Readers familiar with Mallory's great translation of the Arthurian legend will turn with interest to the version—**The Quest of the Holy Grail** (Dent and Sons: 6s. n.)—which Dr. W. W. Comford, of Haverford, has made from the Old French, *La Quest del Saint Graal*. The unknown Cistercian who wrote this allegory about 1220 spiritualized the whole conception of knighthood, and the legend becomes in his hands a sort of Pilgrim's Progress. The Professor has turned it into good readable English, which at times is somewhat too modern for the theme.

Two most interesting little handbooks, "**Windsor Castle: St. George's Chapel and Choir**, an historical sketch by the Dean of Windsor; **The Music of St. George's**, by the Rev. E. H. Fellowes," and "**Westminster Abbey and its Music**, an historical sketch by Lawrence E. Tanner; **The**

Music of Westminster, by the Rev. E. H. Fellowes," have just been published by J. M. Dent and Sons at 1s. each. These two books should be on everyone's shelves. Westminster Abbey and Windsor Castle are intimately bound up with British history. The historical sketches are necessarily brief, but no important event has been omitted. Doctor Fellowes is one of those men who can delve in the past and work in the present. His accounts of the music of both places are most interesting, and in these days of hustle it is well to be reminded periodically of what we owe to the church musicians of the past. By the time these lines are in print, the choir selected from St. George's Chapel and Westminster Abbey, which has been singing in Canada under Doctor Fellowes and Mr. Nicholson, will have returned, crowned, we trust, with glory, to this country.

While one can approve and sympathize with almost every paragraph in a very earnest and sincere study, **The Nation's Schools, Their Task and Their Importance**, by H. Bompas Smith, M.A., M.Ed. (Longmans: 6s.), one cannot help reflecting how much more necessary it is to define the end of education than the means. Are we all agreed what education is? If we were we should soon learn how education should be imparted. One thing at least non-Catholics are gradually discovering, viz., that religion is not an addition to but is an essential part of education. This the author, we are glad to record, stands for; twenty years ago inspectors of schools were less emphatic on this point.

Hebrew if presented with the utmost simplicity is not a difficult language. It is scholars who make it difficult. To induce beginners to persevere, the alphabet—an awkward one—should be very distinctly printed and well spaced out. No mysteries or nuances should be introduced until the novice has successfully emerged from the inevitable difficulties of a new language. Dom Ubach, O.S.B., in **Legisne Toram?** a Practical Grammar of Hebrew (Herder, Rome: 24.00 l.), has all this in mind and makes a notable departure in the right direction. His explanations are singularly clear and helped out by a generous variety of type. But he might well have gone further. Would it not be desirable to give some transliteration of words and short sentences to help the student over the first horrors of the Hebrew A.B.C.? The paradigms on pp. 48, 97 and 144 are excellently laid out. Best of all is the title—"Dost thou read the Torah?" Would that more would read some parts at least of the Pentateuch in the original. The language of our Lord deserves far more attention than it receives in most Catholic schools.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS.

Another indication amongst many of the growing interest of American Catholics in Foreign Missions is given by the publication of **Leaves from the Letters of Xavier** (St. Louis University: 15 c. each: 25 for \$3.00), edited with an Introduction by Douglas A. Pearl, S.J. Here we have wise and burning words from the Prince of modern Missionaries himself, selected with a view of displaying the apostolic spirit at its highest with those qualities of the serpent and dove which accompany it.

A long-felt want has been supplied by the publication of **The Stonyhurst Handbook** containing a short historical description of the school-buildings, museums, libraries, etc., compiled by Father Michael King, S.J., and sold for 1s.

Amongst new C.T.S. publications are **England and the Foreign Missionary Movement**, 1838—1926, by Lt.-Col. F. J. Bowen; and the **Enthronement of the Sacred Heart**, a description of Father Matheo Crawley-Boevey's apostolate. **Freemasonry**, by Father H. Thurston appears in a new and enlarged edition as does **Blessed John Fisher**, by the late Mgr. Colgan. Father C. C. O'Connor's **Original Sin** has also reached a second edition.

In addition to two stories, the C.T.S. of Ireland have issued **The Trials of Life and how to bear them**, by the Rev. P. Coffey; **St. Thérèse**, by the Rev. A. Ambruzzi, S.J., and **St. Dymphna**, by the Rev. J. M. Routledge.

Two publications, inspired by the educational situation in France,—**La Question de l'Ecole unique** and **La Malfaisance de l'Ecole unique**—by M. Jean Cœur, have been issued at 1.50 fr. by La Bonne Presse.

Captain Francis McCullagh, travelling in South America has been struck by the parallel between the old-time tyranny of the Incas and the present Russian despotism and has drawn it out in an instructive lecture—**The Bolsheviks and the Incas**.

Four striking coloured engravings of Irish saints—St. Patrick, St. Brendan, St. Bridget and St. Laurence O'Toole—from paintings by Patrick Tuohy, have been issued by The Talbot Press, Dublin. They are 15 inches by 20 inches and are priced at 2s. 6d. each.

We wish to draw attention here, pending a fuller notice, to the appearance of a new "apologetic" series of historical and philosophic manuals, written by prominent Catholic writers and called **The Calvert Series**. The English publishers are Messrs. Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

Sir W. H. Hadow is always a thoughtful writer, and some of his works are already "classics." A recent little volume, **Church Music** (Longmans: 2s. 6d. n.), which includes a brief but most interesting history of music in Christian worship, urges nothing but the best in style and performance for Church use. This battle has been fought to a victorious issue, and, fortunately, popular music in church, which really meant vulgar music under a more dignified name, is rapidly losing all the vogue that it ever possessed.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

AMERICA PRESS, New York.

The Catholic Mind. Vol. xxv., No. 5.

AUTHOR, From the.

Leaves from the Letters of Xavier.

Selected, with introduction by D. A. Pearl, S.J. Price, 15 c.

BROWNE & NOLAN, Dublin.

The Chicago Eucharistic Congress.

By James Canon O'Boyle. Pp. viii. 159. Price, 4s. 6d.

BENN LTD., London.

This Believing World. By Lewis Browne. Illustrated. Pp.

347. Price 7s. 6d. n. *Eric Gill*. By J. K. M. R. With plates. Pp. 29. Price, 8s. 6d. n.

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, London.

Christ in the Lenten Gospels. By J. Bampton, S.J. Pp. v. 168. Price, 5s.

The Catholic Church and its Reactions with Science. By B. C. A. Windle. Pp. 152. Price, 4s. *The Catholic Church and Philosophy*. By V. McNabb, O.P. Pp. xviii. 152. Price, 4s. A

- Directory for Novices of the Ursuline Order.* Fifth edition. Pp. v. 326. Price, 3s. 6d.
- The Life of Union with God.* By Canon Saudreau. Translated by E. J. Strickland. Pp. ix. 331. Price, 10s. 6d.
- Les Saints Déserts des Carmes Dechaussés.* By Père B. M. de la Sainte-Croix. Illustrated. Pp. 294. Price, 2s. 6d.
- C.T.S., London.
Several Twopenny Pamphlets.
- C.T.S. OF IRELAND, Dublin.
Several Twopenny Pamphlets.
- CONSTABLE & Co., London.
Western Mysticism. By Dom Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B. 2nd edition. Pp. xci. 352. Price, 12s. net
- GILL & SON, Dublin.
The Sister of Mercy's Daily Round. Pp. 170. Price, 2s. n.
- Latin Note Book.* By E. J. Kealey. Pp. vi. 81. Price, 1s. 6d.
- HERDER, London.
The House of Mystery. By Lida L. Coglan. Pp. 235. Price, 7s. 6d. n.
- The Dummy of Stainwright Hall.* By G. Leslie Baker. Pp. 220. Price, 6s.
- The Girl from Mine Run.* By W. W. Whelan. Pp. 336. Price, 8s.
- The Rainbow's Pot of Gold.* By M. Merceret. Pp. 260. Price, 7s. 6d.
- At the Feet of the Divine Master.* 2nd Series. By A. Huonder, S.J. Pp. vi. 342. Price, 8s.
- Sermons for Sundays.* By O. A. Hill, S.J. Pp. x. 373. Price, 9s.
- The Primitive Church.* By D. I. Lanslot, O.S.B. Pp. x. 295. Price, 9s.
- God in His World.* 2nd Series. By E. F. Garesché, S.J. Pp. ix. 205. Price, 6s.
- Readings on Fundamental Moral Theology.* By Rt. Rev. Mgr. L. J. Nau. Pp. 112. Price, 5s.
- St. Clement Maria Hofbauer.* By I. Hofer, C.S.S.R. Pp. xxviii. 551. Price, 18s.
- Bombay Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question.* By E. R. Hull, S.J. Pp. 520. Price, 6s.
- Present-Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism.* By Rev. J. S. Zyburia. Pp. xviii. 543. Price, 12s.
- HERDER, Freiburg.
Das Exerzitienbuch des H. L. Ignatius von Loyola. By M. Meschler. 3rd vol. Pp. xxix.
486. Price, 8.00 m.
- Der frohe Prediger.* By P. W. Bessler, O.S.B. Pp. xiv. 224. Price, 3.50 m.
- LETHIELLEUX, Paris.
Le Baiser de S. Dominique et de S. Francois. By Abbé E. Maire. Pp. 105. Price, 3.00 fr.
- De la Souffrance.* By M. Duportal. Pp. 268. Price, 10.00 fr.
- L'Etoile du Carmel.* By J. D'Ars. Price, 8.00 fr.
- LONGMANS, London.
Angela Merici and her Teaching Idea. Pp. xvii. 429. Price, 21s. n.
- MARIETTI, Turin.
I Cantì Divini. By D. M. Triceni, O.P. Vol. II. Pp. 418. Price, 20.00 l.
- METHUEN, London.
The Faith of the Roman Church. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. Pp. xviii. 172. Price, 5s. n.
- A History of England.* By H. Belloc. Vol. II. Pp. xiv. 414. Price, 15s. n.
- SNEED & WARD, London.
Christ is King. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. Pp. 94. Price, 2s. 6d. n.
- First and Second Poems.* By Ruth Pitter. Pp. 192. Price, 5s. n.
- Infallibility.* By V. McNabb, O.P. 2nd edit. Pp. 93. Price, 2s. 6d. n.
- Glastonbury and England.* By Christopher Hollis. Pp. 79. Price, 2s. 6d. n.
- The Change.* By G. C. Heseltine. Pp. 111. Price, 2s. 6d. n.
- S.P.C.K., London.
The Life of St. Gall. By M. Joynt. Pp. 168. Price, 7s. 6d. n.
- Tractate Shabbath: Misnah.* By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. Pp. xxvii. 84. Price, 6s. n.
- TEQUI, Paris.
Le Dix-Huitième Siècle Littéraire. By A. Brou. Vol. III. Pp. 469. Price, 12.00 fr.
- Sermons de Carême.* By Abbé E. Duplessy. Pp. 133. Price, 5.00 fr.
- La Connaissance de Marie.* By Abbé J. G. Chaminate. Pp. 115. Price, 3.00 fr.
- Lectures Evangéliques.* By Père A. de Barbezieu. Pp. 360. Price, 10.00 fr.
- La Prédication.* By Père Longhayé, S.J. 3e édit. Pp. 490. Price, 20.00 fr.
- And several smaller publications.

